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MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE, RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE,

AND

LABOURS IN THE GOSPEL,

OF

JAMES GOUGH,

Compiled from his Manuscripts, by his Brother,

JOHN GOUGH.

INTRODUCTION.

For my own future benefit, and for theirs too into whose hands it may fall, I am induced to commit to writing the following review of my days, now in the 66th year of my age: for since we are launched on the ocean of life, our principal care ought to be to steer our course through it to the port of rest, and unmixed felicity, though it were through all kinds of hardship and self-denial; since, if we fail of this at last, it is then too late to amend it.

Could all the pleasures and advantages of this life be attained and enjoyed perfect and unmixed to its period, even so they would be no compensation for the loss of happiness in a future and immortal state. But those pleasures and advantages never can be so enjoyed by any one, unless his passions and inclinations are subject to the government of God, who alone ought to govern his creatures, and who discovers his will, to the humble attentive mind.

Indeed the temporary enjoyers of the good things of this life, may shew a face of pleasure to ignorant spectators, while they seem to float, *without interruption*, in the midst of gratifications and amusements: yet a secret worm i

often felt by them, as it were gnawing at the latent root of their exaltation and grandeur.

It is the universal and impartial regard of Omnipotence, which rebukes them for letting loose the reins of their lusts or eager inclinations, designing thereby their timely reformation for their everlasting good.

It often opposes the ambitious and proud, in their career: with the unwelcome discoveries, that they are roving in other pursuits than those that heaven designed for them: and not applying their precious time and talents to the great and good purpose for which they were given. Sometimes it displays the beauties and benefits of rectitude, deserted by them; and sometimes the horror and sad consequence of persisting in the neglect or violation of duty, thus discovered on the one hand, and counteracted by them on the other.

Hence too generally, disliking the check to present ease and pleasure, such as are intrusted with the means of doing good, and helping others on their way, turn their attention from this omnipresent monitor, this faithful bosom friend. They fly to tempting varieties, to soothing deceptions, to amusing recreations; they bear their heads aloft among the envying *multitudes, and seek* to drown his salutary admonitions in splendor, noise, flutter, intempe-*rance and dissipation.*

Many such I have known, who are now gone to their long homes, whom in my younger years I envied.

I have been so foolish as to transfer my envy from them, after they disappeared, to their vain and short-lived successors; many of whom are also gone, and so will the rest ere long. And then what follows those that have left their heaven behind them, who assuming to themselves the direction that was due to God, have refused the reverence and obedience of his laws? Ah then the enviers and envied, like the blind led by the blind, fall into one abyss. Unfit for the regions of pure love to God and each other, of perfect peace, of *joy unspeakable and full of glory*,* they are debarred from admission into them. Separated in the course of justice, plunged with the vast and innumerable hosts of rebellious and execrable spirits, all their bitterness, envy, resentment, eager desires ungratified, unceasing vexation and anguish descend with them, with infinite increase in an unbodied state.

A sensual earthly mind is too much vitiated to relish the pure joys, or to suit the society of the spirits of the just made perfect. Goodness is painful to the wicked, being so contrary to the depravity of their nature. Heaven would be no heaven to them.

* Pet. i. 8.

A change of heart is necessary to be experienced by every man, from a state of nature to a state of grace; from earthly and sensual dispositions and affections, to holy and heavenly, in order to be fitted for the fruition of, as well as the admission into the kingdom of heaven. It is then the greatest wisdom, while time and opportunity are afforded, to use all diligence to attain that state of mind, whereby we may be prepared, when all the transitory delights, amusements and desirable objects of this world fail, to be received into everlasting habitations: and how ought our hearts to be filled with thankfulness to God, who in his universal love to mankind, hath provided for them a physician, able and willing to heal all nations, to create clean hearts, and renew right spirits in all who submit to him, and follow his directions.

But in order to attain this desirable state, we must make a total surrender of ourselves to the divine will revealed to us, in daily self-denial and fidelity; persevering therein to the end of our days, ardent in desire to do good, and to be conformed to the mind of our Creator.

The less we look out unnecessarily into the world, or covet its honours, favours, friendship and greatness, and the more we look to God *with a single eye*, and covet his honour, favour, *friendship and riches*, the more shall we experience *a growth in* the very root, and in all the

branches of the divine life, that we may be as a chaste spouse to Christ in every desire and aim, in every motion of the mind, and its companion the body too, and surely he ever merits it from us, even he who has graciously visited, and from day to day invited, and called us out of the spirit and ways of the world, to join himself, in order to partake with him and his, of pure peace and joy in the present, and more infinitely in a future state. His call is "Come "out from among them, and be ye separate, "touch no unclean thing, and I will receive "you, and I will be a father to you," &c.*

By this call were our honourable predecessors in the beginning, separated from the spirit and ways of the world, and incited to refuse touching the unclean thing or whatever sprang from an impure source, what persecution soever that refusal might cost them, knowing that he whom they obeyed and in whom they trusted, would carry them thro' all opposition, which they experienced (to their unspeakable joy) to be fulfilled, and livelily testified to the world, many of them, both living and dying.

Those happy men and women left the Lord's vineyard (thro' their faithful labours with the divine blessing upon them) well fenced and cleaned *(having gathered* out the stones thereof) and

* 2 Cor. vi. 17, 18.

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MEMOIRS

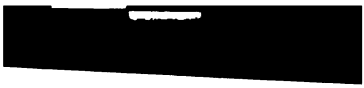
OF THE

LIFE, RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE, &c.

OF

JAMES GOUGH.

I was born at Kendal in Westmorland on the 27th of 12th month, 1712, and my parents John and Mary Gough, professing the Truth as held by the people called Quakers, I received my education in the same profession. My mother, who was an industrious, careful, well-minded woman, taught me to read; and when I was a little turned of five years of age I commenced a scholar in friends' school in my native town, under the tuition of Thomas Rebanks, at which school I continued till my fifteenth year. Having a good genius and a propensity to learning, I attained with facility and readiness the Latin and Greek languages; and my quick proficiency therein, (I being of little stature for my age) exited admiration, procured me the fame of a great scholar, vastly magnified my little stock of attainments; and also introduced me to the notice of several persons of eminence in the town, who would frequently question me in respect to my learning, and were generally pleased with my ready answers.



young, to see both my own deficiencies in duty, and those of many others more advanced in years; and I thought, if I lived to be a man, their harms should be my warnings.

I remember a worthy minister, Joseph Jordan from Virginia, having had the small-pox, at a friend's house in Kendal, and being raised up again; at the first meeting which he got to after it, was drawn out in such a moving manner in his ministry, that the meeting in general seemed to be impressed with great tenderness under it: and I then (though but very young) had a share therein. The desirableness of living so, as to obtain divine favour seemed to be very clearly and strongly set before our view. And the opportunity had some good effect upon my mind for a short season.

Here we may remark the advantage that accrues to religious society and to meetings, where they are favoured with a number of faithful elders, living ministers, and spiritually-minded friends; men of truth, "fearing God and hating covetousness".* The liveliness of their spirits; the clearness of their sight, and the uniformity of their conduct and conversation, qualify them to shew the people how they should walk, in the pursuit of peace, both by precept and example; *precepts* drawn from the living spring of *experience*, and examples formed by a watchful

* Exod. xviii. 21.

attention to the pointings and limitation of truth. I remember some whose very countenances seemed to command awe, and impress observers with serious consideration. As the salt of the earth, seasoning those amongst whom they walked, with a sense of the truth which lived and predominated in them; under the powerful influence thereof, these kept up meetings both for worship and discipline, and were enabled thereby to keep things in good order, as themselves were a good savour in their allotments. On the other hand we may observe that where the elders and active friends are not under this qualification; but under the form, are suffering their hearts to go after their covetousness, secretly departing from under the influence of this divine principle, the cause and prevalence of truth too often decline amongst the different ranks of the people, "as in the day when a standard-bearer "fainteth."

My mother made it her maxim in her plan of education to accustom her children to useful employment, frugal fare, and to have our wills crossed, in order hereby to render us better fitted to undergo any future hardships in life, that might be allotted to befall us. And I have reason to think that her cares and endeavours, with *the examples and* labours of good friends, were *to me as* "*bread* cast upon the waters;"* which

* Eccl. xi. 1.

appeared after many days. In the intervals of school hours she would be for employing me in one useful occupation or other. This I thought a great hardship; and being much mortified thereby, I exerted my wits to evade it, often feigning pretences of school tasks and exercises, set me by my master, and such like groundless excuses.

The great duty of education, to discharge it rightly, needs divine instruction and assistance, as much as any duty in life, and therefore parents have need fervently to pray for it, and faithfully to follow it when received. Otherwise they may be in danger of falling short, and the deviations and miscarriages of the children (at least in part) may lie at their doors.

But if my mother might seem to err on the one hand, viz. that of severity, it is to be feared that the far greater number err on the other hand, viz. that of indulgence and connivance: and that though the former be more painful for the present, yet the latter generally proves more pernicious in its effects and future consequences. I verily believe, I have enjoyed a better state of health, from being brought up in a hardy way, as my constitution was but weak and tender.

Upon a review of my state at this age, my recollection represents it as a complication of ambition, envy, craft and deceit; but that even then, a divine monitor was near me, to manife

and reprove the corruption of my heart, and the evil of my ways. I was sensible of my mother's anxious care for my preservation from evil, and attainment of good: but I eluded as much as I could, the confinement which she thought conducive thereto, in keeping me under her own eye, and out of the way of corrupting company. I loved liberty; I sought it with eagerness, frequently got it by craft, and abused it to my hurt, as unexperienced young people are too apt to do.

In this state, I well remember, I was afraid and ashamed to meet with good friends, such as I yet loved and honoured, being inwardly convicted from the consciousness of my own vile and unguarded conduct. Sometimes I received from some of them the reproof I deserved; and sometimes I thought their very silence rebuked me. At other times in their company the love and desire of goodness re-entered with a strong force. But being withdrawn therefrom, temptation too often reinstated vice in its wonted seat in my heart, and in the direction of my conduct.

I easily and clearly saw the wide difference betwixt good and bad company, and how much the former was preferable; yet the powerful allurements of the latter forcibly drew me into, and held me fast in a wretched captivity there-

to manifestly contrary to my better judgment, which, I fear is the case of many others.

There being a large body of friends in the county of Westmorland and the adjacent parts, our general meetings were many of them very largely attended; and as it was the care of the elders, and other friends concerned for the welfare of the youth, to encourage them very early to attend the meetings of discipline for their improvement in virtue and sobriety; I attended many of these large meetings, but too frequently without reaping any share of the real benefit intended by them, or receiving any other impressions than those of vanity and airy ambition: so that however such meetings were favoured with divine virtue and power, the dissipation and absence of my foolish roving mind rendered it like the barren heath, not profitting by the fruitful shower, or cheering beams of the sun.

And there is reason to fear, that this may be the case of too many young people, who are pleased to go to these large meetings from other motives than those of piety, who, forgetful of the intent and design of them, indulge their corrupt inclinations in very unseasonable gayety and festivity. What the faithful labourers in the church endeavour to build up, these in their unguarded conduct pull down, and some

times bring reproach and disagreeable reflections on their religious profession.

Whereas had these meetings been constantly beautified with an uniformity in the conduct of professors, consistent with the divine principle of truth and the doctrines of its faithful ministers, they would have proved of much greater service. For as the truth is in itself unspotted, and its excellency unchangeable, the glory and dignity thereof would have shined forth very amiably and attractively in the eyes of the nations, had not the misconduct of its professors too frequently and extensively eclipsed its genuine lustre; which merits the solid consideration of all who have been educated, or have joined in profession with us; both when they attend such meetings, and at all other times.

(1727.) Being arrived at my fifteenth year, my mother was anxious to have me put to some business. Through her persuasion my father in the course of his travels, spoke to David Hall (the memoirs of whose life are extant, and for whom my mother had an honourable esteem) and agreed with him to take me as usher to his school, desiring no other terms for me but my board, and such instruction as he might see I yet needed: which gave my mother great satisfaction.

She accompanied me to his house at Skipton

in Yorkshire. And here I experienced the advantage of the education she had given me, for thereby I was prepared to submit more willingly to continual employ and hardship. And though many of the boys coming from full houses and plentiful tables, thought their fare here mean (as indeed the price for both boarding and tuition, was but eight pounds per annum) yet to me it was in general otherwise.

There happened to be in the family at this time two youths, whose cases or events in life, I think not improper to mention by way of caution: but their names I would wish to be buried in oblivion, unless they may yet be favoured with repentance to salvation.

The one was a lodger in the house. He was a valuable pattern and very helpful in the family. I esteemed him to be in a happy condition, and still believe he was so at that time. He had a few words in the ministry and grew in his gift; but afterwards becoming exalted, and too fond of applause, he, fell into the snares of the grand enemy, and brought a reproach on the truth, and on the ministry. What need hath he that standeth, or thinketh he standeth to take heed lest he fall.

The other was at that time apprentice to *David Hall. He* was afterwards a minister well *esteemed among* many friends; but alas! h*e also shamefully* fell. And what renders t

case of these my formerly well-beloved friends still more melancholy, is, that though there is balm in Gilead, yet they and others, whom the enemy has thus wounded, and poisoned, will not turn to the physician there, but rather endeavour to have their wounds deceitfully healed.

I remember to have heard one, who had basely fallen in an unguarded hour, boasting a few years after, that he had been washed in the bottom of Jordan, and had brought up stones of memorial; and this in an affected ministerial way, when it appeared not to be the case to any but himself: but rather that the poor man was still under the deception of the crafty enemy, willing to deceive himself, and wanting to deceive others, while he was at best but very superficially washed from deep defilements. Judgment had not had its perfect work, though he was very willing to think and to have it thought by others that it had. And to evade that awful consideration, that the most pure and righteous God is jealous of his honour, and requires our going clean through all that humiliation, labour and patience, which his light in the conscience discovers to be necessary for repairing the dishonour incurred. All palliations or softening excuses; *all arts to conciliate* human compassion and *favour, are but like* fig-leaf coverings, through *which the nakedness* of transgressors is mani

to such as are indued with true sight, and daubing over destructive breaches with mpered mortar.———But enough of this ession, wishing it may prove useful where led.

(728.) When I had stayed in my service kipton a little more than a year, my master me leave to return to Kendal to see my re- ns. He made me the bearer also of a letter y father, wherein he signified, that consi- ng my years, he approved of my qualifica- s and conduct, and offered wages for my re service. My mother took little notice of offer; but was exceedingly rejoiced at the r part of the letter as giving her better es on my behalf than she hitherto had.

n the course of the succeeding year, by ement between my father and my master, I t three months with Richard Kennedy ing master in Liverpool, to improve myself riting, and learn some branches of the ma- natics. One seventh day while here, I ving always a great propensity to see towns places that were new to me) went to see city of Chester, and lodged two nights at er Leadbetter's; in my return by Eastham y, which is five miles athwart to Liverpool, derly gentlewoman having got some play- s, in the boat, I offered to read for her as reading, some horses in the boat gre

unruly, which terrified her very much; so that she put by her play-books, and would no more (while we were in the boat) touch them herself, nor suffer me to touch one of them.

Many remarkable preservations I had in my younger days: but the most remarkable was during this my residence at Liverpool which happened as follows. One first day in the afternoon I went with some other boys a boating in the dock, which by means of flood-gates was kept so full of water as to keep the ships afloat, when the tide was out. We rowed several times from one end of the dock to the other. At length some rude boys, that were stronger than we, took from us our oar, or oars, and this in all probability proved the means of our preservation. For now we found ourselves obliged to work our way with our hands by the ships to the upper end of the dock. Which just as we reached, we heard a noise as of the loudest thunder: climbing up from the boat unto the quay, we soon found that the dock gates being grown old were broken down. The water rushing out in a rapid torrent, bore down all before it, oversetting and greatly damaging several vessels that lay near them. The frightful nearness of such a danger, and narrow escape *from it so affected* my mind, as to invade my *sleep that night*, and repeat itself again to *my imagination* with aggravations of horror.

At the expiration of my three months here, I went to Kendal yearly meeting, where my father, being just arrived from a journey, in which he had made his way through Skipton, informed me that he had agreed with David Hall to bind me to him for four years longer; this was no agreeable intelligence to me, for although I honoured my worthy master, yet every thing else was not as I could wish it. I thought I could foresee much hardship, to be unavoidably my lot: yet as my father had so agreed, I thought it my duty to comply. I endeavoured to put a good heart and face upon it, and so entered upon my part. During these four years my master was frequently abroad at meetings. He did not often miss the quarterly meetings at York, and sometimes attended the yearly meeting at London, and then the care of the scholars in and out of school lay heavy on me.

Both before my coming to Skipton, and while I was there, I often had fresh desires kindled in my heart after redemption, I was shewn clearly the necessity of it, and the danger of delays in a matter of such consequence; so that I have left off playing for a time, thinking it great infatuation to squander my precious hours in play, when in danger of my life, and *that too for ever.* But the most particular *reach I had was at* a meeting in our school-*house under the* baptizing ministry of Joh

Fothergill, whereby I was awakened to vigilance for a season, rising early, and carefully attending to every step in my business, and the duties of my station. But soon, too soon, the fervour of this sacred flame, abated, and I gradually fell back, and became just what I was before: yet I did not forget or wholly lose the sense of this day of my visitation; but often privately lamented my revolt, and I continued still to maintain a good character amongst friends.

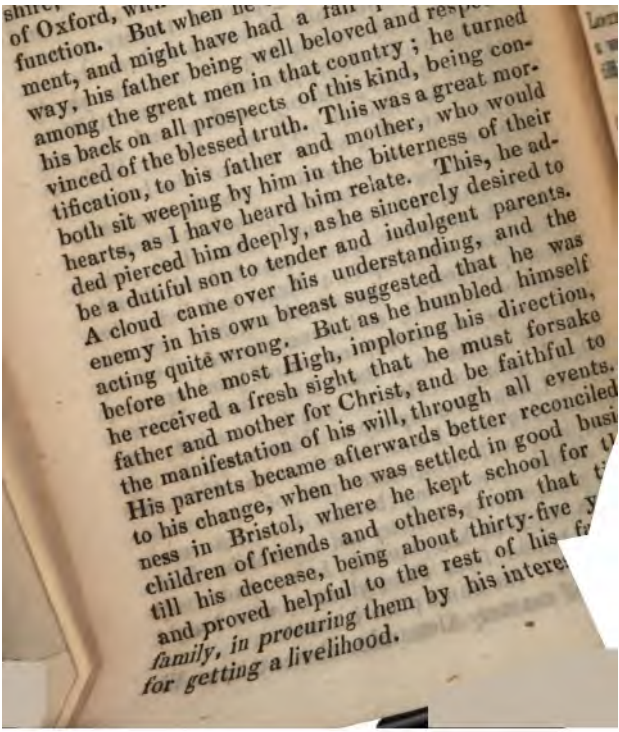
I do not remember much more than what I have already intimated in general of these four years, save that one time, when my master was abroad, I thought myself hardly and unreasonably used, and thereupon conceived a design to run away by night (it being moon-light:) but that kind Providence whose fatherly care was over me, when I was too little careful for my own well-doing, withheld me. For when the time proposed for putting my design in execution arrived, the pernicious consequences of such a procedure, were so clearly manifested to my mind, that I was discouraged from the attempt; and therefore concluded patiently to endure what might be permitted to befall me, till the termination of the time contracted for, *might bring me my* release in a reputable and *conscientious way.*

Near the expiration of my time I wrote to

some of my friends, acquainting them, that I intended to try some new place, and received a letter from my good friend John Wilson of Kendal, signifying that Alexander Arscott of Bristol wanted an usher, and offered twenty pounds per ann. Which offer I readily embraced.

(1733.) So leaving Skipton, and the yearly meeting at Kendal approaching, I went thither, staid a few days with my mother, and then set forward for Bristol. In my way at Wolverhampton, standing at the door of the Inn where I alighted, I saw a crowd of people passing by, and heard it was a Quaker's funeral; whereupon I went to it, and our friend Joshua Toft (whom I do not remember to have seen before) attended it, and was raised up in a large and living testimony, whereby I was afresh reached, and considerably tendered, and thence proceeded on my way under revived impressions of good upon my mind to Worcester; there I met with William Beesly going to Bristol yearly meeting, with whom I went in company to Gloucester, but my horse being tired I was forced to leave him behind, and walk the greatest part of the remainder of the way in my boots. In a few weeks after, that worthy minister and elder John Richardson of Yorkshire landed, in company with *Robert Jordan* from Pennsylvania, who bought *my horse for* the same price it cost me.

My good master Alexander Arscott was like


shire,
of Oxford, wi
function. But when he
ment, and might have had a fai
way, his father being well beloved and respe
among the great men in that country; he turned
his back on all prospects of this kind, being con-
vinced of the blessed truth. This was a great mor-
tification, to his father and mother, who would
both sit weeping by him in the bitterness of their
hearts, as I have heard him relate. This, he ad-
ded pierced him deeply, as he sincerely desired to
be a dutiful son to tender and indulgent parents.
A cloud came over his understanding, and the
enemy in his own breast suggested that he was
acting quite wrong. But as he humbled himself
before the most High, imploring his direction,
he received a fresh sight that he must forsake
father and mother for Christ, and be faithful to
the manifestation of his will, through all events.
His parents became afterwards better reconciled
to his change, when he was settled in good busi
ness in Bristol, where he kept school for t
children of friends and others, from that t
till his decease, being about thirty-five y
and proved helpful to the rest of his f
family, in procuring them by his intere
for getting a livelihood.

I came up to Bristol quite plain in my garb (as David Hall would not suffer any other in his family) and it being the time of the yearly meeting, at a friend's house I fell in company with some well-minded friends, one or more of whom observed to me, that sundry young people had come up the same way from the north of England to the southern parts, particularly to London and Bristol; yet after being there a while they ran into the fashions of those places, till they even outstripped the native inhabitants.

Now I had not only been educated in plainness; but had been inwardly convinced of the foundation on which it stood; wherefore upon hearing this account of the rediculous folly and instability of my country folks, I was sorry that they gave occasion of such remarks to their dishonour, and took up a resolution to continue steady in my old plain way. And I do not know that I suffered any external disadvantage by it: and if I had, the cause of truth is worth suffering for, and the Almighty rewards patient suffering in a good cause. But I found that good friends seemed to love me the more on this account; and even others, who were conscious of their degeneracy seemed to respect me, as apprehending me to be better than themselves: And I had most peace of mind in continuing in my wonted plainness, though I was like a speckled bird, there being even then very few plain-drest young peo-

ple or others in the meeting of Bristol. But I have observed that deviating from this path of plainness, which truth leads into, and making excursions in dress, opens the way to intimate connexion with young people out of our society, or libertines in it; and so leads further and further from a due subjection to Christ's kingdom and government, often making them forget and lose the good which they have formerly possessed, and consequently draws them along into the utmost danger. Whereas adhering to the truth and its plain path, opens the way for safer and more profitable and edifying connexions as I often found here, to my solid inward satisfaction, which I hope I shall never forget.

Being now removed far from all my connexions, my parents, relations and the place of my nativity; and being here as a stranger in a strange land, having at first little or no acquaintance, in my new residence; in this my solitary situation it pleased divine goodness, to take notice of me, and to favour me afresh with a merciful and reaching visitation of his love to my soul, and more clearly to reveal his Son in me, whereby I was given plainly to see, that my safety here and happiness hereafter, depended upon my yielding faithful obedience to his requirings by his light in my heart, and that his requirings *would be only* what tended to my real good, and *lasting welfare.*

This was a day of my soul's espousal to Christ Jesus. I was overcome with his love, and with admiration of his condescending goodness to such an unworthy creature; it being the day of the Lord's power, I was ready and willing to do any thing that I saw I should or ought to do.

Having a strong inclination to poetry, I had sometimes at Skipton indulged my fancy therein. But now when the Lord's power took hold of me I sacrificed all my idols and burned all my collection of poems, even though some of them were on what would be called good subjects; yet they had too much attracted my mind, and engrossed my thoughts. I was made sensible that these poems were not my proper business, yet they took the place of what was really so, and therefore I gave them up. For I now saw that I must shut out and leave behind me what others generally crave and pursue, viz. The vain desires and delights, which lead away the mind from that great Being, who wooes us to true happiness.

And indeed my whole delight was in the company of Christ my dear Lord and master. I was directed by him to do all things well, and bear all things with meekness. And as I on my part carefully regarded and practised *his directions, my soul enjoyed the sweet sense of his approbation.* And I preferred it before *all the world, which* I saw to be of little valu

compared with the favour of its almighty Creator. To please him I thought well worth all the toil and suffering of the day; and the desire of doing it, whetted my industry and strengthened my patience. Thus I enjoyed a good time, and was often overcome with the love and kindness of my dear Redeemer.

For in him I had now a father, a guardian, and a friend, and an excellent one indeed, who embraced me with the most engaging affection, when I applied myself to do every thing rightly. All friends and relations, with all kinds of enjoyments seemed to center in him alone, for he alone amply supplied all, and having him was having every thing that was good. In his presence there could be no want. It was then no hard matter for me to deny every natural and corrupt desire, as for his sake; and to renounce the objects which had formerly pleased me too well, and which I had been foolishly fond of: and yet for the rejection of these things, which had done me no good, but harm, I ever found him a rich rewarder.

In his presence I could envy no man, however rich, eminent or seemingly happy; but I loved all men as his workmanship, and wished that all would come to him, and in and with him be *truly happy for ever.*

Then bidding farewell to the world and i *vanities, whose* beauty and alluring lustre w

tarnished and eclipsed in my eyes, through the superior brightness of the Sun of Righteousness shining in my heart, I loved solitude that I might seek him, who was now become the life of my life, and wait for his fresh appearing to me, who brought with him not only light to shew me my blemishes and defects, but animating fortitude, fervent desire, and divine help to withstand and surmount corrupt habits and propensities, and vigilantly in the secret of the soul to guard against the first rising of any imagination, or inclination, that was not consistent with the pure holy discoveries of his blessed spirit. Thus with the royal Psalmist, Psal. 16. 11. "In his presence I found fulness of joy." My mind was moulded into a divine frame, a new creation of pure love to God and to men, wherein the heavens and the earth in a sweet harmony, seemed to shew forth the power, wisdom and goodness of the one good Father and preserver of the whole. I rejoiced that I had lived to see such a day, wherein I had a sure evidence in my own bosom of being translated to a better world, to live for ever united to him and his, if I should then be snatched from this.

Happy had it been for me, had I still thus continued *steady in my* progress towards perfection, *through following* his guidance towards it: *but being in* a great city, I sometimes

looked out, and thereby again caught sensual desires, which demanded to be gratified, and were too often obeyed, when in my power, by which I again did harm to myself, and gave away my inward strength and fortitude for walking faithfully, as Sampson gave away his to Delilah; yet I still bore a good charactor, and many looked upon me as a young man of steady conduct; but by a painful feeling of my own instability I knew myself better.

A good condition is easily lost, for want of duly observing our blessed Lord's direction to watch and pray, lest we enter into temptation.—While I observed it, I daily and hourly found the benefit of it, in my rising up and lying down, and on my bed in the night season, having my heart and affections wholly set on Christ, and the great end of his having given me existence, blessing his name for so revealing his goodness to me, renewing covenant with him, and watching against every thought that had a tendency to carry off my mind, and separate it from him.

I rose early, implored him to direct me how to spend every part of the day, most to the honour of his name; and to aid me to exert myself in the full discharge of my duty every way, and oh! many times in the day great peace, and *solid satisfaction* flowed in my soul for attending *to and following his* internal directions.—Every

g went well and in proper order, through constant care to walk exemplarily, and act ıfully in the duties of my place and station ife. And many times in the evening of a spent day, my soul overflowed with the et earnests of the heavenly and everlast- reward, reserved for perseverance in well- ıg.

ometimes to every body that I saw, I felt t love to rise in my heart, and a tender well- ıing desire for them, that their souls might ake with mine of the hidden treasures of unutterable love of Christ, and the joy of salvation.

lay I never forget the day of this his most ıging kindness, and of my espousals to him. ay say *truth is truth*, unchangeably excellent, , pure and perfectly good. It leads to eve- hing that is best, and upholds in it, and re- ds for every act and instance of self-denial bedience to its dictates. Ever worthy to be ıired, adored, reverenced, loved and served ıll the nations in the world, as that which e would make all happy in true love, and ıerve all in pure and spotless order every re. So would earth resemble heaven, and inhabitants be *linked* in a holy, blessed *ety with Christ*, with angels and the spirits of *just made perfect*, in enjoying together the

brightness of his presence, in whose presence is joy, and at whose right hand are rivers of pleasure for evermore. For this our Lord prayed to his father on behalf of his disciples; "sanctify them through thy truth, thy word is truth."

I continued in Bristol upwards of four years, living with my worthy master, for whom I had a great and deserved esteem, as assistant or usher in his school to the time of his death, which happened the latter end of my fourth year there, he being seized with a diabetes, which gradually weakened him, till at last in a sweet frame of mind he departed this life, generally regretted by friends and others, having been a man remarkably serviceable, not only as a member of religious, but also of civil society. His character for integrity being so universal, that he was very much employed in determining differences between his fellow citizens either as arbitrator or umpire. So that to the blessing of the peace-maker he might seem to have a title above most. His funeral from the Friars Meeting-house was attended by a very great number of friends and others. Four friends appeared publicly to a very crowded audience, viz. James Tylee, Daniel Badger, Isaac Sharpless and Thomas Gawthrop. The next day *the men's meeting* elected Jonathan Nelson *schoolmaster of* Reading to succeed him, and *desired me to* keep up the school till it might

be convenient for said Jonathan to come, which I did, and at his coming resigned it to him.

(1737.) Being informed that friends at Cork, in Ireland, wanted a schoolmaster, I agreed to go thither to serve them in that capacity; so calling to see and take leave of my brother, who lived with Thomas Bennet at Pickwick, in Wiltshire in the station of usher to his school, I went from thence to Gloucester and was at the two meetings there on first day, which were poor small meetings. On second day I rode to Worcester, and stayed there at my kind friend William Beesley's over third day. The week-day meeting there, was to me a tendering season both in silence, and under the lively ministry of old John Corbyn; towards the week's end I reached Kendal, where I stayed two or three weeks; during which stay, my father took a fever and died. A day or two after his funeral, I left Kendal and returned to Bristol, from whence, after waiting sometime for a wind, I took shipping for Cork, in company with doctor Rutty of Dublin, who had been at the yearly meeting in London, and amongst his relations in Wiltshire, and was also waiting for a passage to Cork.

I was affected with an awful impression on my *first embarking*; it put me on considering *on what foundation* I ventured my life upon *the water*. On that head I was soon favoured

with inward satisfaction, and resignation to divine Providence.

The wind being unfavourable we had a very tedious passage, being ten days on the water from Pill to the Cove of Cork. It was late at night when we landed at Cove, and next morning went up in a boat to Cork, where I lodged about two weeks at Jonas Devonsher's, (a friend of a large estate) his two sons being under my tuition, and afterwards boarded in a friend's family till I married.

The meetings of friends in Ireland, and particularly in the province of Munster, not lying so contiguous as in many parts of England, could not so conveniently be joined several together, to constitute monthly or men's meetings of discipline for transacting the affairs of the church, but in these parts particularly, each particular meeting was a men's meeting in itself, and some of the meetings both hereaway and in other parts, being greatly reduced in number, it became the concern of friends in Ireland to recommend, to the larger meetings nearest to them, the care of visiting these little meetings frequently, to inspect their state, and help them by advice and counsel as occasion might require. Two of these meetings, viz. those of *Bandon* and *Youghal* were under the care of *Cork men's meeting*, which was regular and

constant in appointing visits to them at the stated times.

I being now become a member of Cork men's meeting, (being recommended by certificate from Bristol) it fell to my lot in company with other friends to go upon a visit to the meeting of Youghal: here seeing Mary the daughter of John and Martha Dobbs of said town, a plain and orderly young woman, I found my affections closely engaged towards her, and having proposed to her parents my desire to address her in order to marriage, and obtained their consent, after some time we were married there according to the good order used in our society.

The said John Dobbs her father being convinced of the truth, while he was a student at the university of Oxford, was for his fidelty to conviction disinherited by his father Richard Dobbs of Castle-Dobbs near Carrickfergus Esq; of an estate worth several hundreds per ann. being his eldest son.

His father left it to a younger son, who was to pay my father-in-law ten pounds per ann. out of it, which during the life-time of that son was but indifferently paid, and by his prodigality the estate was involved. But his son Arthur *Dobbs, late* governor of North Carolina, *succeeding to the inheritance thereof, voluntarily doubled the* said annual sum, and paid i

punctually. My father-in-law having studied physic at the college, practiced it with good success, and great Christian charity to the poor, so as to save little from his income that way.

He had been the favourite of the family, but upon his joining in society with friends, and giving up his whole heart to follow the discoveries of the light of Christ in his own conscience, he was treated by his father with the utmost severity as a rebel, and then cast out as an alien. So that he might well be said to have forsaken for Christ's sake, father and brethren, and sisters, and houses, and lands; and like faithful Abraham to have offered up to the Lord whatever was dearest to him in this world, and to have trusted in God, which was doubtless counted to him for righteousness.

Being beloved by friends, he was urged by some to have recourse to the law for the recovery of the family estate as his birthright, which he had done nothing to forfeit, and assistance offered him for doing it. Whereupon he was prevailed upon at length to make a beginning; but not having that inward peace with Christ which he perferred before all the world, in the first step of contention, he put a stop to all further *proceedings*, and rather chose to confide in *God without it.*

For a more particular account of him, see the collection of friends' sufferings in folio, vol. 2, and doctor Rutty's History of the Rise and Progress of Truth in Ireland. Of him I have only to add, that he made a joyful and happy exit, in an exceeding thankful and triumphant state, out of this world, with a full assurance of going to live for ever in a better. He died about seven or eight months after our marriage.

His wife Martha Dobbs was convinced of truth before their marriage, by the dying expressions of a handmaid of the Lord, viz. Deborah Sandham. She had a few words of public testimony in meetings, survived her husband some years, and died in a good old age, having been a heavenly-minded woman.

Previous to my marriage, a small lot of ground offering for building on, which was very convenient to my school, and the carpenter reckoning he could run up a neat small house for a sum I could then spare, (having in my employment in Bristol and here saved so much) I adventured in conjunction with a friend, to take the ground and build upon it, and the house was finished a few weeks after out marriage; but the cost of it came to double the sum the carpenter had proposed it might be built for. This and some other things filled me with gloomy apprehensions, and I became very dull and dejected in my mind in consideration of m

circumstances, finding I had gone too far, and owed what I was not able to pay. However, as my intentions were honest, and my anxiety great that I might not by any misconduct blemish the truth, which I had been instructed so highly to prize, by exerted endeavours, with industry and frugality, and through divine assistance, in sometime I got over this difficulty, and paid every farthing.

It may perhaps appear to some, that the recording of such transactions, is of little importance or edification to uninterested readers; but it hath not appeared so to me. The account of these difficulties which for want of due care and foresight, and a constant, steady and deep attention to the unerring guide, we fall into, though more humiliating, may perhaps be no less useful for caution, than those experiences, which we can review with more heartfelt satisfaction, are for encouragement and imitation. Truth hath ever led to integrity, punctuality and upright dealing in our outward affairs, and to limit ourselves to few exigencies, and an humble condition in life, rather than invade or risk the properties of other men. We cannot all get a deal of the treasures of this world (nor is a deal necessary to our well being. "*A man's life consisteth not in the abundance "of the things which* he possesseth") but we may *all live on a little, if* our minds be kept humble

and the sensual appetites be subjected to the cross of Christ. Now my view in relating how I was (undesignedly indeed) involved in embarrassed circumstances, is for a caution to unexperienced young persons, to be very considerate and careful in their expences, that they be neither lavished on things needless or superfluous, nor in things otherwise convenient and lawful, in a measure disproportionate to their ability to support clearly out of their own, with honour, reputation and a good conscience; (for in this circumstance things lawful in themselves are not lawful or expedient for them) that so the profession of truth may not suffer reproach by their miscarriage, as it hath done by that of too many others, to the great regret of the honest and right-minded of our religious society.*

* NOTE. The correct sentiments expressed by James Gough on the subject of integrity and upright dealing in our outward affairs, are much in unison with the advice contained in the following letter from Stephen Crisp, an eminent Minister in the Society of Friends, dated 9th month, 1678.

"*From S. Crisp to J. R.*

FRIEND John R——

I *am sorry I have* the present occasion of writing to *thee, and would have* foreborne, if a necessity had not *een upon me for the* Truth's sake, and for thine; fo *have a deep sense* of thy danger, and that thou art

The narrative of these difficulties and anxieties, that attended my first setting out in the

the way to dishonour thy testimony; for I am informed by several who love thee well, that they believe thou art run into about three hundred pounds debt, to set thyself up as a public shop-keeper. Whether they have dealt with thee about it or no, I know not; but alas, John! what is the rise and spring of this, and what will the issue be? Sink down into that which gives a discerning, and thou wilt find a secret mistrust, mixed with an earthly lust, and a crafty carrying it on, under a shew of Truth; that thereby some other things propounded, might the better proceed, or be carried on, to the making self somebody; and this ground is cursed for ever, and so will the fruit be. O! consider, is this fitting thyself for thy testimony, and the keeping thyself from entanglements in thy warfare?

Dear John, I wish thou would yet take my counsel, and send every friend their goods home, with the money for what thou hast sold of theirs, and take thee to thy employment where God blessed thee, and in which thou grew up; and stand ready at the Lord's call, that if he please to make any public use of thee in his church, thou may be free from worldly entanglements; and if not, be content with thy daily bread, both inwardly and outwardly; and seek to adorn the Gospel thou hast preached, by a holy, simple, and righteous conversation; without which, preaching, believing, and profession, and all the highest terms men can imagine, are all in vain, and will end with an evil savour.

I have written these things, in love to thee and the precious Truth, in which my life stands, although it is often bowed down, to see so many abuse the profession of *the holy Truth; serving* themselves thereupon, and not *caring to keep up the* reputation of it; but venturing the *glory of God, the reputation* of his people, yea, and their

married state, seems to me also to convey this instructive intelligence to all single young persons, who have not good patrimonies, or are not yet well settled in some business, proper to maintain a family, that if they would do well in the world, they should not be hasty in this weighty affair; but consider wisely before they proceed toward it. While single they have only themselves to care for, and if they keep their hearts staid upon the Lord (which is far easier for them to do than when weighed down under a load of care and encumbrances) and come up faithfully in the way of their duty, they will be happy. And by all means let them beware of entering into this most interesting engagement, which is for life, on which the happiness or unhappiness of this life very principally depends, and by which that of the next may be very materially promoted or retarded, till they see that in due season the Lord opens their way, and conducts them in it. Then the marriage will be honourable, the married will be like minded, standing in the

own souls also, for the reaching after their earthly and corruptible ends and purposes, which they have propounded to themselves. I might enlarge, to shew the many evil *consequences* attending this practice, but hope *by what I have written* thou wilt consider the rest and *still account me thy friend* in the Truth,

S. CRISP

counsel of best wisdom, will be truly helpmeets to each other both in their temporal and spiritual concerns; joining together with united and prepared hearts in religious and family duties, and strengthening each others hands for every good word and work; minding the inspeaking word, more than the attention or opinions, the approbation or censures of the world. Such if they have but little of earthly treasure are happily married. But on any other terms, whether married or unmarried, people are not in a good way. And it is infinitely better to be married to Christ, than to be married ever so grandly in the world out of the divine counsel and covenant.

As I had a religious desire in my choice, and that I might be rightly directed therein, I had reason on the whole (notwithstanding these outward discouragements aforementioned) to hope that I was so. For my wife was the child of good parents, from whom she had received a religious education, of orderly conversation, innocent and well inclined, and we were in good degree favoured together of the Lord, s being free to give me up to every service thought it my duty to engage in. Upon first visit to her, the sense of truth and *solid edifying* conversation of her w *parents deeply* fixed the best impressio *my spirit, so that* in my return home to

(twenty computed miles) my thankful heart was like a cup filled, the tears of divine joy overflowed, and run down my cheeks the greatest part of the way.——In this thankful frame I reached Cork, and my friends there, who generally had a love for me, were pleased to see me, and to hear such account as I had to give. But then this good went off, and the instability of nature succeeded in a great degree, though still mixed, with a reverent view to the better part.

(1739.) About four months after our marriage, being at a meeting at Yougal, my heart was bowed in reverent fear, and filled with the sweet influence of God's universal love, it then appeared to be my duty, in the clearness of that light and strength of that love, to call to, and invite those present to come to Christ, and yield grateful obedience to his laws. I had been for several years before, fully persuaded that this would be required of me as a duty, and had desired never to dare to venture upon it till it should be so required.

Upon this duty being clearly presented to me in this meeting, discouragements and obstacles poured into my mind in abundance, such as that if I should deliver the words impress, I should then be exposed to much speculation, and become the immediate subject of conversation among such as love to catch and propagate matter

amusement; that perhaps the like duty might never be required of me again, and in that case I should be likely to be remarked, and talked of for many years, as one who had begun and not gone on. Instances occurred of such as had preached amongst us for a time, and had either dropped it and fallen away, or had on one account or another, incurred a public and general dislike or disgrace, and that therefore it might be safer and better for me to rest quiet with good wishes for the people, and to exhort in a more private way, as I might have opportunity, and a fresh concern on my mind. These grounds of hesitation detained me till a friend kneeled down to conclude the meeting in prayer.

I then saw clearly that if the meeting should break up without my uttering the exhortation, which was fixed with so much weight upon my mind, I should unavoidably incur the stings of conscious guilt, and the crime of disobedience.

Therefore not attending to the friend's public prayer, my mind was earnestly and closely exercised in mental supplication to the Almighty, that he would abilitate me to be faithful. I had a hard struggle and conflict on this occasion: but at length the power of divine faith prevailed, to the *shutting out* and putting to silence all *manner of discouraging* apprehensions. And when *the prayer was ended* I durst not sit down, fear-

ing I should not have power to rise again in time; but turning about to the meeting, and seeing some of the people staring me in the face, such was my weakness, that I raised up my hat, and holding it before my face, I spoke the words, which had lain with weight on my mind and sat down. A flood of divine joy poured into my heart, and filled it all the day: I went in this frame of mind into several friends' families, and my heart being still melted with divine love, the tears of joy and thankfulness flowed down my cheeks, which some ignorantly mistook for trouble of mind, saying one to another, *they pitied me.*

It was indeed a memorable day to me, for I seemed to myself to be raised above the sordid and sinful inhabitants of this world, and to be admitted a partner of the blessed society of saints and angels, and spirits of just men made perfect through entire obedience rendered to their God.

I had a full assurance in myself that if then sudden death should seize me, I should immediately go to that blessed society, to live in a holy and happy communion with them for ever, to adore that God and Sovereign, who had so infinitely favoured us. And this is the very nature *of that truly* excellent religion, which *our dear Redeemer* came to bless mankind *with.*

I might give some small account of services and good effects, arising from my thus obeying the divine manifestation; but accounts of that kind I leave to those, who have steered more steadily than I have done, and think it more proper for me to look to the other side of my case, and that with shame and confusion of heart, mixed with humble admiration of divine Goodness, which has hitherto indeed been great, and blest me with a few heavenly and good days, wherein I should not have been afraid of death, or of the awful and tremendous judgment which is to follow it. Oh! that I may (through faithfulness on my part) attain the like again, and that my last day may be my best day! But alas, a consciousness of infidelity in divers respects is my present companion, though not with my will, or by design; but through want of maintaining a proper vigilance and devotion, and thereby losing the fortitude, which I have sometimes been invested with.

Many of our dear honourable friends of the first generation in our society, appear from the time they were drawn to the pure fountain of light, life and love, to have adhered thereto with immovable steadfastness to their last moments: and a few I have known in my time, that have greatly arisen, and steadily persevered (considering the degeneracy of the age) in a faithful attachment of soul to that grace and

truth which is come by Jesus Christ; and that have washed their robes white in his blood, and have kept their garments unspotted; but very few that have come up to this height, and so continued as with their feet fixed upon Mount Sion: very few that have got over the opposing mountains of human respect, selfish regards, sensual appetites, desires of the ease, honours, or profits of this world; all which tend to debase the soul, darken the judgment, eclipse the brightness of heavenly light; blunt the edge of godly resolutions, and contract the corrupting leaven and spirit of the world.

It is lamentable to reflect how many in our age, even of the anointed sons, and servants of the Lord, have by these means gradually declined and dwindled, and at length totally fallen off, as Judas did from Christ, and Demas from his faithful apostle, and made shipwreck of faith and of a good conscience, and brought lasting disgrace on themselves, and that good cause, in which they had been humbly and honestly engaged. Yet truth changes not. It is the same still, and still able to preserve from falling, to build up, and give an inheritance among the sanctified.

I remember that the above considerations made *me earnestly pray*, that since I had given *up, and put my hand* to the plough, I might *never look back* to Sodom again, like lot's wife

but rather suffer any thing in this world, than disgrace the cause of truth and righteousness.

Encouraged as above, I proceeded to minister in public meetings when I had something given for that end, through which exercise my gift became gradually enlarged. But alas! I too often made false steps in my public ministry, as well as in my thoughts, words and actions in private conduct, for want of self-love being more mortified, and subjected to the spirit of Christ, which teaches divine wisdom.

Being of an active natural disposition, it became a cross to me to be silent, when it was best to be so. And sometimes after I stood up I continued too long, till the testimony as to the life of it, flattened and grew tedious to the hearers. I wanted too to imitate some others, who, I thought, preached finely. Thus the enemy of man's happiness continually seeks to tempt every class in the church militant. As the eye is kept single to the holy head, and the body full of light, in the light he is discovered in all his approaches and transformations; but I was not constantly enough on my guard against his stratagems, and therefore was sometimes seduced even to think I did well, when I was zealous, though not according to true knowledge nor to the honour of the great name of Christ our Lord: for he is most honoured by the subjection of self; and by divine love coupled with humility and patience.

Among the many good institutions which the discoveries of celestial wisdom have established in our society, that of faithful elders appointed to watch over the flock, and over the ministry, has been found to be very useful. And though the love of self-honour made me sometimes bear hardly the reproof of a friend; yet I have afterwards, as in the cool of the day, discerned the expediency of it, and been induced to desire to be more careful in future, and to be willing to receive advice as well as to give it.

O ye, whom Christ calls into the work of the ministry, or any other office, give up your lives to him and it, both to do and to suffer what he may order or permit: for the vessels of the Lord's house are to be of beaten gold. Every son whom he loves he rebukes and chastens. Then ever receive with a good mind the counsel or the reproof of a friend.

If others revile and taunt in bitterness and wrath; in haughtiness and insult, as whoever will live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution; yet all things will work together for good to them that steadily abide under Christ's government.——Our nature having in it much dross, and by long habit contracting an increase of it, cannot be refined from it, but by fiery trials, *nor have its* evil humours purged out, but *by drinking the bitter* cup.——Applause pleases

the creature, but greatly endangers it. Suffering in spirit, though more painful, is more safe.

O then ye! who have rightly begun, and favourably advanced in the work of truth or of the ministry, look well to your standing, and guard against the transformations of your unwearied enemy.

When we first began, our single view and desire was to obtain divine approbation, and that peace of soul, which results from it; to die to ourselves and all the world; to know no man after the flesh, nor to be known by them; but only to know the Lord, and to walk and act under his immediate notice and approving favour.——But afterwards there hath mingled herewith, the desire of human notice, of popular applause, of worldly advantages and indulgences.

Thus too many ministers, as well as others, who have given up their names to follow the Lamb, have slipped into a mixed state. In them the spring once pure, hath become muddy, and the sacred fervour hath dwindled. Though they have retained the form of godliness, yet its conquering power and fortitude have gradually died away, and left them as weak, and unable to resist temptations, as those *who have never* assumed that form.

This hath been the case of too many dry *worldlings and* sensualists in our society, who far,

from helping the cause, which they professed a value for, have greatly hurt it, and given a handle to libertines to make both it and them, the subject of their derision.

When the humble regard and love of God singly presided in my heart, then I have been disposed to receive the advice or the rebuke of a friend in the love in which it was given, and to bear with Christian meekness, the taunts and insults of insensible hearts and unguarded lips undisturbed thereby: but when I have slid off this foundation, then they have discomposed my mind, and agitated it with selfish and uneasy resentments.

I have not so often met with this kind of returns to my ministry, as applause, which indeed is an intoxicating and pernicious cup for any to drink without great fear. It ferments the spirits with a false alacrity; elevates the mind with self-conceit, and an imagined superiority to others, leads into an evil emulation, and even to slight those who are in a much better state, by dwelling in the valley of humility, subject to Christ the beloved of their souls.

How hard! for the creature not to be pleased with praise, and to offer it to him, to whom alone it is due! or after being at any time *signally honoured, to* return like Mordecai dismounted, stripped of the royal robes, and to

sit in a silent, abject condition at the king's gate, waiting on him in poverty of spirit.

As applause is dangerous so the affections of the people, if not kept under proper government, both by the minister and his hearers, have a snare in them, as indeed hath every object of our senses, without maintaining an inward watchfulness; these things not being the proper mark or prize of a minister or a christian. It is base to play the harlot with corrupt self and deck it with the Lord's jewels. For if we take these rewards of our labours, we are in danger of losing that which he gives to the faithful, which is the one true and durable reward.

The spirit of the gospel directs us, to submit ourselves, or give way, one to another, to be abased, and prefer others; the strong to take the weak by the hand, and all to imitate the holy pattern of Christ, who was meek and lowly in heart, and stooped to wash the feet even of his disciples and servants.

It was he by his spirit, that not only raised up a living ministry in our society, but by the same spirit animated our faithful predecessors to establish a salutary discipline therein, upon the same foundation; and raised up and gifted, *men and women* for valuable services, conducing *to the edification* and strengthening of one another *in piety*. Often have I sat in meetings of

discipline greatly humbled, tendered and revived in my spirit, with fresh resolution to renew diligence in my journey heaven-ward.

One branch of this discipline, viz. the institution of meetings of ministers and elders, I highly regarded. For when we have (in a sense of our entire inability without his help) prostrated ourselves together before the most high God, he hath graciously vouchsafed to open the living springs of counsel, suitable to the several states and stations present, tending to stir up to diligence and devotedness in his service, and pointing out livelily in the opening of gospel light, the snares and dangers waylaying the spiritual traveller in his journey.

Often have these meetings, when we have been thus prepared for them, cemented us together in a humble engagement of soul towards God. Tender love hath abounded, which hath made us dear one to another, as children of one family, and fellow-labourers in the highest and best cause. Christ our Lord has favoured us with his presence, and sovereign power, and made us partakers together of his heart-tendering goodness, and of a near communion, and divine fellowship with him through his spirit, and with each other therein, to the renewing *our ardent concern* for the honour of his name, *and the promotion* of his truth.

But when this preparation hath been wanting

and inattention and absence of mind have taken place, then we have been barren as the dry heath; and like the earth, covered with darkness, without form and void, when the spirit of the Lord moved not on the face of the waters. Both the immediate and instrumental springs of lively and clear counsel and consolation have been closed up, and the edification and watering of the flock withheld. This hath caused living zeal, and even the attendance of them to decay, and to yield to temporal affairs and temptations, to the hurt and loss of many.

May these considerations move both ministers and elders more particularly, to seek after the preparations requisite for their assembling in the name and power of Christ, and under a renewed concern for their individual preservation, as well as for that of their brethren and sisters, that they may thereby be comfortably enlivened, and enliven one another to all goodness, as men and women redeemed from the world, and fellow-citizens of the new Jerusalem. Then, of great and valuable benefit indeed, would these solemn meetings be, as heretofore, when faithful labourers in the Lord's service, dignified, adorned and upheld them.

When I had resided about three years in Ireland, my brother John, whom I left in the service of Thomas Bennet, at Pickwick, Wilts, as noticed before, being desirous to fix his residence in the

same nation at least with me, at the expiration of his fourth year there, resigned his place of usher to that school, in order to remove to Ireland, and going first to see our mother (and relations) at Kendal, she concluded to accompany him in order to pay us a visit of a few weeks, and about the middle of the summer 1740, they both arrived at Cork. After about five weeks abode with us, my mother inclined to return home; and I having a concern on my mind to visit my native country in the service of truth, and my brother's arrival openning the way to set me at liberty, he willingly taking charge of my school in my absence; I concluded to accompany my mother in her return: and having laid my concern before the men's meeting and obtained their certificate, and soon meeting with a vessel bound to Whitehaven, we embarked therein, and had a favourable passage, being only about forty-eight hours from port to port.

This journey took me up about five weeks, in which time I visited the meetings of friends pretty generally through the counties of Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire, and part of the north of Yorkshire, being frequently much favoured by the master of our assemblies, and often enlarged in the love of the gospel *amongst my* former relations, friends and *neighbours, who* were many of them glad to *see me, and* with many of whom I was nearly

united in the unity of the one spirit, the bond of peace.

* In particular I was at a general meeting at Crook, about four miles from Kendal, which was eminently favoured, and after it, went to lodge at Lydia Lancaster's, a valuable minister, and a mother in Israel. Next morning went to their meeting at Colthouse near Hawkshead, and after meeting went to William Rawlinson's to lodge. Next morning in very wet stormy weather, I went to Height meeting. Most of the friends belonging to this meeting lived at some miles distance from it; yet they generally attended it, and I believe were generally thank-

* Here a sheet of the original is lost, which I have not been able to recover; I regret the loss not only as it occasions a chasm in the narration; but by the recollection I have of my brother's epistolary and verbal relations of this journey, I apprehend, we are deprived of sundry occurrences, worthy of preserving. One in particular I have heard him on his return (and at other times) relate in terms so lively and affecting as indicated, it had fixed a deep impression on his mind: so that, I think he would not pass it unnoticed, and that we have lost it in this missing sheet. When he came to Pardshaw meeting in Cumberland; he received intelligence that our ancient valuable friend, that faithful minister of the gospel in his day, James Dickenson, was then confined by sickness, and apparently near his conclusion, whereupon he went to pay him a visit, and found him in such an happy, heavenly frame of mind, as made the opportunity very tenderly affecting and edifying: raised above the world he was departing from, and well prepared for that celestial

hey did so, so much of the cement-
ıe and power of the gospel prevailed

meeting I went with James Rowland-
ıily at his house at Frith. His daughter
l for a little while past appeared at
the public ministry in our meetings.
of tenderness, and of inward fervency
Christ the beloved of her soul, prevailed
s to make deep and lively impressions
ind.

day, that family accompanied me over
s to a meeting at Swarthmore, and I
with them, and from thence back to
The said Jane Rowlandson after-
ıarried George Crosfield, became a
minister, visited Ireland twice while
ıere, and the continent of America once.

ıe was favoured with a lively hope of being
lmitted into; in this his concluding scene,
ther affecting expressions he related of his, I
he following, in purport, "I have served the
d his truth in my generation, and now I feel
ıed reward thereof: the accuser of the brethren
own as to me, and my peace with God is sealed
." This, he related, was delivered in such a
werful and affecting manner as greatly tender-
rit, and left the best impressions upon it,
him to fresh and ardent desires, so to fulfil his
nd walk through life, as that he might die
the righteous, and that his last end might

In the course of this journey I was favoure with the company and countenance of sundr friends, whom in my younger years I had he in estimation, by reason of the good impressio I received from their exemplary lives an labours, as before noted in its place. My quo dam master, David Hall, treated me wi affectionate respect; he had buried his form wife, who was my mistress, and married agai He and his wife accompanied me to a meetin at Airton. I lodged at Thomas Anderson's, friend in the ministry, who visited Ireland i company with David Hall; he was blind, b exceeding pleasant and cheerful. Next mor ing being a hard frost, I went with said Thom and other friends over a great hill to a mouth meeting at Settle. By me in the gallery s Julian Frankland, a good old woman, ne ninety years of age, and a good meeting it wa

At and about Kendal also, I had much the company of that honourable minister an elder, James Wilson, who as a nursing fath encouraged and strengthened me in the servi I was engaged in. His conversation was oft pleasant, instructing and edifying; one remark able passage he related, I think worthy inserting, which was to the following purport.

In his young years (having been educate *in the established* religion or church of Engla *so called) he* had conceived a very contem

ble opinion of the people called Quakers and their principles, and at a public house or inn, falling in company with some others, of like sentiments, this people became the subject of their discourse; and as they were expressing their sentiments of contempt and dislike of them pretty freely, a person of some note, who had been an officer under Oliver Cromwell, came into the room, and overhearing their discourse, observed to them in substance, "That "he apprehended their prejudice towards this "people arose from their want of knowing "them: for my part (continued he) I en- "tertain very different sentiments of them;" and perceiving them struck with admiration to hear him, whom they looked upon as a man of sense, as well as consequence, express himself after this manner, he proceeded to the following purpose. "You seem to won- "der that I express a favourable opinion of the "Quakers, I will inform you the reason. Af- "ter the battle of Dunbar, as I was riding in "Scotland at the head of my troop, I observed "at some distance from the road, a crowd of "people, and one higher than the rest; upon "which I sent one of my men to see, and "bring me word what was the meaning of this "gathering, and seeing him ride up and stay "there, without returning according to m "order, I sent a second, who stayed in t

"manner, and then I determined to go myself.
"When I came thither, I found it was James
"Naylor preaching to the people; but with
"such power and reaching energy, as I had not
"till then been witness of. I could not help
"staying a little, although I was afraid to stay;
"for I was made a Quaker, being forced to
"tremble at the sight of myself. I was struck
"with more terror by the preaching of James
"Naylor, than I was at the battle of Dunbar,
"when we had nothing else to expect, but to
"fall a pray to the swords of our enemies
"without being able to help ourselves. I
"clearly saw the cross to be submitted to, so I
"durst stay no longer, but got off, and carried
"condemnation for it in my own breast. The
"people there, in the clear and powerful open-
"ing of their states, cried out against them-
"selves, imploring mercy, a thorough change
"and the whole work of salvation to be effected
"in them. Ever since I have thought myself
"obliged to acknowledge on their behalf, as
"have now done."

This, James Wilson said, proved the first step towards his convincement of our principles, inclining him to go to our meetings, which before he had an aversion to the thoughts of, from the *prejudice* above hinted. In those days the *meetings of friends* were more eminently favoured *with divine power*, as they lived more devo-

to Christ and consequently more abounding with his love flowing in their hearts.

I was ready to think that Isaac Alexander had been instrumental to his convincement. I find it recorded in the third volume of the *dying Sayings* that said Isaac died at his house. Of him he gave me the following account, that "being in himself an illiterate rustic, soon after "his convincement, he appeared in the ministry "lively and powerful. A neighbour of his, "having heard of his becoming a preacher, "could not tell how sufficiently to express his "admiration; he made it the subject of his dis-"course from place to place, deriding him who "had no learning for persuming to preach, and "the people for suffering him.

"This man attended the funeral of that great "and good woman, Ann Camm. The meeting "proved an exceeding enlightning, tendering "opportunity: and even this derider was con-"trited and humbled therein. Isaac Alexander "was eminently raised up in his gift, to set forth "the goodness, and the justice of God; the glory "of truth, the happiness of obeying it, and the "lasting infelicity of neglecting and rebelling "against it. The man was so thoroughly pene "trated with a clear sight of his own case, that "*after Isaac had done*, he stood up in that ver "*assembly*; acknowledged the crime he h "*been guilty of*, and begged the prayers o

"good Christians, that it might be forgiven "him."

I mostly finished my service in England in this journey, with the quarterly meeting for Lancashire, at Lancaster, and that for Westmorland, at Kendal, held in succession. At the former, I met with Abraham Fuller, of Dublin, who had accompanied Moses Aldridge from New-England, in his religious visit to friends in Scotland, and was now, as well as myself on his return home; our meeting being quite unexpected, was a very pleasing surprise to us both; especially, as we were like to be companions to Dublin. Here also, I met with Samuel Fothergill, then young in the ministry; but even then appearing with that solemnity, brightness, and gospel authority, as gave friends lively hopes of his proving, as he did, through the successive stages of his life, a bright and shining light, a vessel of honour indeed, of eminent service in the church of Christ. The public service in the said quarterly meeting, fell to the share of us who were young, (though many weighty experienced ministers present,) and our good Master being with us, it proved a refreshing satisfactory, and edifying meeting.

From Lancaster we went directly to the *quarterly meeting* at Kendal, which was also a *good meeting*, and the beginning of the succeed-

ing week, we proceeded to Whitehaven, in order to take shipping for Dublin, where we arrived on seventh day following and I lodged at Joseph Gill's. I attended the meeting there the next day, and heavenly help being near, I was furnished with ability and matter, to minister to the general satisfaction and edification of friends, and the ease of my own mind. And my being at that time quite a stranger to most friends in that city, and coming quite unexpected, occasioned pretty much enquiry among them.

From Dublin I proceeded toward Limerick, by Mountmelick, Mountrath, and Kilconinmore, where John Ashton was then living, a valuable good man, little inferior to most I have known in my estimation. Although not eminent for great and shining parts; yet he was a shining light in the country where he resided, in love and good works; a man of great humility, and fervour of soul for the promotion of piety; much beloved and esteemed of his neighbours and friends.

When I came to the good old man's house, (being now near eighty years of age) he was very much indisposed; and it being about the middle of the eighth month, O. S. or October, and the friends in that part being late with some part of their harvest, he proposed not-

withstanding his infirmity to accompa
Limerick: a great day's journey for h
he was well, as the roads were then:
relations, apprehending it too hazardou
to undertake under his present indi
endeavoured to dissuade him from i
made me desirous that he might not
his health, nor meet with any dissatis
mind.

It proved a fine day. He grew muc
and his conversation was very edifyi
friends at Limerick rejoiced greatly to
being the last time of his being there
day being first day, we had two co
meetings there. On second day m
parting, he told me "he was well
coming." He was well and hearty th
following, and the next spring set
towards the half-year's meeting at Du
having reached Birr, he found himse
to go further, returned home, and afte
illness departed this life, leaving behi
general testimony all round the count
behalf, as of one who had eminentl
God, loved mankind, and was greatly
by almost every one that knew him.

He and his wife were both convince
meeting at Birr, through the powerful
of that able and eminent minister of t
Thomas Wilson. Coming out of tha

they said to each other, "The way of everlast-"ing happiness had been clearly laid down "before them, and they were resolved to walk "in it, come life or come death."

Not long after, John was thrown into prison for his christian testimony against the oppressive and antichristian yoke of tithes; here, being used to work without doors, he was at a loss how to employ his time; but soon learned to make gartering and laces.

When at liberty, he with his wife, constantly twice a week attended the meeting at Birr, generally walking on foot thither, being about seven English miles and very bad road, wading through a river in the way both going and returning. In winter in crossing this river they sometimes had the ice to break; and John said he had wept to see the blood on his wife's legs in coming through it. In those days truth was precious to its professors, who also possessed it, and no difficulties or dangers, could prevent them from getting to their religious meetings, to enjoy the renewings of divine love and life, with their brethren.

This good man also took great pains to get travelling friends to appoint meetings at his house; and then to acquaint people thereof several *miles round*, travelling for that purpose *by night, as well as by* day, in the winter sea-*son, and in* severe weather, and underwen

much reproach for this labour and diligence of his.

Yet he was blest in it, both inwardly and outwardly, many came to the meetings at his house, several were convinced of the truth, and in process of time a meeting was settled there, and grew larger than that of Birr, out of which it had sprung.

He was at the time of his joining our society but in low circumstances: but through industry and the blessing of heaven he grew rich, and did abundance of good, being singularly hospitable, liberal, and charitable.

At the above said meeting at Birr, thro' the ministry of Thomas Wilson, there was also convinced his wife's daughter Mary, the wife of James Sheppard. This was a great mortification to her husband, who tried various means to reclaim her. At length a noted preacher being to preach at the worship-house he frequented, he proposed to his wife, that if she would go with him to hear him, he would go with her next Sunday (as he called it) to the meeting at Birr, to which proposal she assented. She went accordingly, and heard fine words and eloquence: but that was not what her soul wanted.

Next first-day pursuant to his engagement he *went with her to Birr.* It proved to be a silent *meeting there: yet thro'* the reverent attendance *of the souls of those* present upon Christ the

best minister, they were favoured together with his life-giving presence, and the said James was reached, and tendered in the view of the self-denying path which leads to peace with God.

Hereupon, what he little expected at his going to that meeting, he immediately joined in society with friends, and became a serviceable man in his station.

After parting with John Ashton, I proceeded toward Cork, and reached it next morning before meeting.

Soon after I visited some parts of Leinster province. After my return I spared my brother, at the request of Benjamin Wilson near Edenderry, to be tutor to his children, and those of a neighbouring friend. When he had been there about a year and a half, I writ to him to prepare (after duly apprizing his employers) to return to Cork, having a desire for once, while I had an opportunity, of his supplying my place, to be at the Welch, Bristol and London yearly meetings, and though the family was loth to part with him, yet as I wanted him on this account, he disengaged himself and returned to Cork, in due time for me to proceed on the service before me.

Accordingly in the beginning of the first *month O. S. (now* called the third) I embarked *on a sixth day* morning at Cork; On seven

day at night by favour of the light-houses we got into Milford-haven. On first-day morning I walked to Haverford-west, where I met with Abraham Fuller of Dublin, whom I consulted how I should steer my course to North-Wales, as I understood here, that the Welch yearly-meeting was to be about a month from this time in this neighbourhood, viz, at Tenby in Pembrokeshire.

Abraham advised me to order my course so, as to be at John Goodwin's on a first-day, because there was generally a large resort of people there on that day, and gave me his directions how to accomplish it, which I was pleased with, having heard before of that good old man, and having a desire to be then at his house.

On third day after meeting I left Haverford-west, had a meeting next day at Caermarthen: on fifth day morning went to John Bowen's at Penplace, expecting to have a meeting there, but he being gone to their monthly meeting at John Reece's, at Penbank, I followed him thither, where I found a considerable number met: after I had sat down, old John Reece stood up and preached to us in Welch. On sixth day I went to the Widow Evan's at Llandewy-brevy, in Cardiganshire, and expected next day to reach John Goodwin's, at *Escargogh in Monmouthshire*.

Next morning the friend who was to have been my guide came into my chamber long before day, when I was about getting up, having an earnest desire to reach John Goodwin's that day. He informed me "I could not go "thither that day without running the risk "of my life, as it snowed very hard, and it was "a mountainous road." I presently got up, and found myself obliged to stay there, to the no small disappointment of my desire.

I then went to their market-town called Tregarron, and there had two meetings that day, the latter of which was large. Next day being first day, hearing of a Priest called Daniel Rowland, whose parish worship-house was at Llangeithow, three miles beyond Llandewy-brevy, who was much flocked after by many people, even from other parishes, thither I went accompanied by three friends. When we arrived we found the house full, and many at the outside, who seemed to listen, to the preacher with attention, who was preaching in Welch. I desired a young man, to endeavour to get in to the Parson, and acquaint him that an Englishman without, wanted to speak to him, which I suppose he did. For when he had ended his sermon the congregation broke up, and he came out one of the first.

I went to meet him and told him, "I had "found my mind drawn in christian love to vis

"him and his congregation, and therefore desired "then the opportunity to deliver to him and "them what was on my mind." After some enquiries he said "It was not convenient then "as he had himself preached largely to the peo-"ple." Finding myself clear of him, I got upon a pretty high tombstone, and the people generally drew near, being a very large multitude. The opportunity was greatly favoured, I being engaged to invite the people to Christ the free teacher, and of him to receive wine and milk (strength and nourishment to their souls) without money and without price: tho' the people stood close crowded, there seemed to be as great a stillness, as if scarce any were there. After I had ended what at that time flowed thro' my heart to them, I stood a little with my mind reverently and thankfully affected. At length I looked round to see on which side I might most easily retire. Some of the people near, who perceived it, desired that "I would pray for them "before I left them." I answered that "I did "indeed pray for them, but as for doing it vo-"cally, I durst not, unless it appeared at that "time to be my duty to do so." They asked then "Whither I intended to go next," I told them "To Llambeter, about five miles off, "*where I intended* to have a meeting that after-"*noon.*" *Thither* many of them went.

When I had got a little way on the road, I was overtaken by one, who looked like a Gentleman, on horseback, with his wife riding behind a man on another horse, he told me "He had "come out of Caermarthenshire fourteen miles "over the hills to hear Daniel Rowland, asking "if I should come into that county, that if I did "he would meet me any where in it, if he could "know the time and place; but would be better "pleased if I could come and lodge a night with "him," which I afterward did.

As I advanced a little further, a certain woman not of our profession, invited me and friends with me to dine, and gave us the best entertainment in her power. She expressed with solidity, "She had not understood one word I had said; "but had felt that which had done her heart "good, as a friend interpreted her words to "me."

Many people flocking to Llambeter, the meeting was held in the street. After it I parted with the people in mutual affection, and returned to Llandewy-brevy in company with friends and others. I was at this time much overcome with the Lord's goodness, and thankful for the aforesaid disappointment of my desire, as believing it to be in the ordering of best wisdom, for the service of the day, being filled with a comfortable hope, I was in my proper place, which caused the tear

to run down my cheeks, most of the way I had to ride.

When I returned to my quarters, viz. the Widow Evans's near Llandewy-brevy, a great number of the neighbouring people were come thither, and an unexpected meeting ensued, wherein several were broken, and tendered in the time of silence. I briefly observed "that it had been "made a good day to several of us, expressing "my desire that it might be duly remembered by us." And in this lively tenderness we took our leave of one another.

But alas, when I came thither eighteen years after this, I found little sign left of that fervency toward God, which then seemed impressed on their minds. The enemy had got entrance, and too much stolen it away.

Next day I got to John Goodwin's, and he told me "he believed I was come in the right "time, there having been but few at his house "the day before, by reason of the snow that had "fallen thereabout." He accompanied me from his house to a meeting at the edge of Shropshire.

John told me that his father and mother were both convinced of the truth about the same time, *and received it in the love* of it. At that time *his father was clerk* of the parish, and master *of the free school* thereof; but upon his joining *with friends, and giving* up faithfully to divine

conviction, he was turned out of both these places, and obliged to have recourse to hard labour, wherein his mother heartily joined: But, that himself their eldest child, then well grown toward the state of youth, not understanding their case, thought them fools to turn Quakers, and resolved he would not be like them in that: Nor did they offer any compulsion to him therein: But their prayers, put up to the Lord for him, were manifestly answered; and they had in their son the comfort they desired. At this time friends were grown numerous in Wales; but soon after, upon the encouragement given by William Penn, most of the friends in some parts of this principality, removed and settled in Pennsylvania, and amongst the rest John's father and mother, with most of their children. From inclination he would have removed with them; but a higher power directed his stay in his native land, and to that he gave up father and mother and every thing. This good man recounted to me the great favours of the Lord to him all along to that day, to the following purport.

"When the Lord pointed out poor Wales "as a field of labour for me, he promised that if "I was faithful to him in it, he would be with "me and favour me therein: and now I have "in my heart a testimony for him in my old "age, that he hath abundantly made good "his promise to me, both outwardly and in

"wardly, far beyond what at that day, I cou
"have ever expected." Which favours in
vers respects he related over to me in a ve
edifying thankful frame of mind: And spea
ing of his wife in particular, he related the ste
by which the Lord, whom they loved and s
ved, conducted and joined them together; liv
lily adding, "I think I may say, if ever man
"the world got his right wife, I got mine." I
further told me that he lived and maintained
family on a farm of four pounds a year, but
length had purchased it and improved it, so t
at that time he reckoned it worth six pound
year. The first journey he travelled in t
ministry, being to visit friends thro' Wales,
had then got of clear money above forty sh
lings in all; and he was free to spend it,
there were occasion, in the Lord's servic
knowing that he could give him, or enable h
to get more; that the first time he began
entertain travelling friends (most of the me
ing being then gone off to Pennsylvania) he h
but one bed which he left to them, he and
wife taking up their lodging in the stable. I
vers have been convinced by his ministry: a
one of the principal worthies of our age I ha
esteemed him.

The foregoing narrative of this worthy eld
was edifying and profitable to me, not only
the time, but frequently since in the re

and recollection thereof: and I thought it worthy of recital as conveying profitable instruction to every class of readers whether of high or low degree: To the former a lesson of instruction how humbly thankful they ought to be to the gracious giver of all good things, for his extensive bounty to them, when they consider this truly good man, in circumstances we should reckon mean indeed, and a manner of living suitable to his circumstances, bearing a lively and grateful testimony to the goodness, mercy and truth of the Lord in his gracious dealings with him. Also when he dedicates his little *all* (in faith) to his Lord's service, doth he not in the silent and reaching language of example, convey this intelligence to thy soul, who art blessed with abundance? "*Go thou and do* "*likewise; Honour the Lord with thy substance* "*and the first fruits of all thine increase;** "*Love mercy, and walk humbly with thy* "*God;*"† deeply pondering in thy heart "*How* "*much owest thou to the Lord?*"

And those of low circumstances from hence may learn that happiness is confined to no station in this life; but is the result of observing the law of God in the inward parts, being, as it prescribes, *content* with the things which we *have, not minding* high things; but reducing *our desires to the* level of our station in life.

**Prov. iii chap. 9 ver.* † *Mich. vi ch. 8 ver.*

that so we may fill it with propriety and act our parts well: If we thus walk by the unerring rule of truth, tho' we be esteemed poor in this world, we shall be rich in faith, and, with this worthy man enjoy in the obscurity of the humble cottage what palaces too seldom afford, solid content, the consolation of a conscience void of offence, and in reward of well-doing, "the peace of God that passeth the un-"derstandings of men." The most splendid and extensive earthly possessions, when laid in the balance against durable possessions like these, are indeed as nothing and lighter than vanity.

Having parted with John Goodwin, I went to Shrewsbury, Colebrooke-dale, Bewdley, Worcester, Birmingham, Coventry, Warwick, Evesham, then back by Worcester to Bromyard, Hereford, Amely and into Radnorshire in Wales, to Brinfloyd and Talcot. To this last place came Mary Rickaby of Yorkshire from Landewy-brevy, much tired; but after a little rest and refreshment she had an edifying opportunity in the family; and from hence she, with Miriam Bowen, and her uncle Edward Jones accompanied me to the Welch yearly meeting, as did also John Young from Leominster, who *met me at Hereford* for that purpose, and was *an acceptable companion.*

Next morning we set out from Talcot about five o'clock and got to Nathaniel Anthony's a little after meeting time, a meeting having been appointed beforehand there, to begin at five in the evening. After meeting John Young and I went to lodge with that couple, who had before invited me near Llangeithow, where we met with a kind and cordial reception, and found them fervent in desire after godliness. Next morning we met Mary Rickaby, and sundry other friends at John Bowen's. Thence went to an evening meeting at Caermarthen, which was large. Next day being seventh day we went to John Lewis's house in the country; on first-day with him to the meeting at Redstone, and in the afternoon were at a large meeting at Haverford-west: And from hence on third day we went to the yearly meeting at Tenby.

After the yearly meeting, I went by Swansea and Trevereeg to Pontipoole, being accompanied by good old Evan Evans. Thence by Shernuton and Ross to Gloucester, and from thence round by Oxfordshire, Berkshire and Wiltshire to Bristol yearly meeting; and from thence by Bath, Bradford, Shaftsbury, Poole, Ringwood and Southampton, and the Isle of Wight, to that of London.

At Shaftsbury the meeting had been pretty much dropped for several years, there bein

none of our profession left, but an old friend a tanner and his two sisters: but at this time several were in part convinced, and thereupon the meeting revived. I was there on a first day, and had three meetings which were large. The second day I spent in visiting families, and in the evening had a concluding meeting with friends, and those newly convinced. It was a satisfactory time; and one man's wife who had been in great grief, passion, and bitterness, on account of her husband's joining in our profession, was herself gained and joined him and friends; and another woman likewise joined us at the same time: yet the fervency which was then felt, proved but of short duration with several of them. However the meeting hath continued; a new meeting-house was built there since that time, and the quarterly meeting of the county of Dorset is sometimes held there.

On my return from the Isle of Wight, Thomas Whitehead and Philip Eliot met me at Portsmouth and accompanied me thence to London, with young Abel Hollis of the Isle of Wight, who was then hopeful, next day being the fourth of the week we came to Alton; after meeting there on fifth day we came to an evening meeting at Godalmin. Sixth day morning were at a meeting at Guilford. After meeting, being joined by Samuel Bownas and Jeremiah

Waring, we came to Esher, and next morning to London to the yearly meeting.

In this journey Samuel Bownas was particularly kind and fatherly to me. We were together at Gracious street meeting on first day morning, which was a good meeting, and wherein I was favoured in a good degree.

Thomas Whitehead and Philip Eliot accompanied me after the yearly meeting was over to a meeting at Hertford. From Hertford I went to Hitchin, Jordan's, High-Wycomb, &c. was at the quarterly-meeting at Okeham for the counties of Leicester and Rutland, and at those at Lincoln, York, Lancaster and Kendal.

At this yearly meeting were no representatives from Ireland, but Abraham Fuller and I. John Pim of Edenderry and his brother Joshua Pim of Mountrath came as far as Coventry: and there the said Joshua, a valuable friend and elder was visited with a distemper, which for a time seemed dangerous. He recovered, but not till some time after the yearly meeting was over.

The like afterwards happened to another good friend and elder Joseph Williams of Randal's Mills, who reached London, and was there by indisposition prevented from getting out to any meeting, such trials being sometimes per

mitted for the proving and exercising the faith and patience of the Lord's servants.

In this Journey I often travelled hard, and had two meetings a day wherever I could. It took me about five months. At Lincoln quarterly meeting friends lodged at inns: I don't remember that I knew one friend there, but John Scott from Leeds and May Drummond. It being now about midsummer, the public meeting began at twelve o'clock, their men's meeting about two, and ended before four. In those two meetings I had been shut up. I met with an elderly friend and asked him, how friends spent the residue of the long evening, he answered "in conversing together or taking a walk "or the like." I told him "I thought it was "a pity, considering the large number of young "people come together from sundry parts of "the county, that I thought the end would be "better answered, by some religious opportu-"nity, or meeting, that might tend to edifica-"tion, and be of benefit to some at least." "He replied "They used to have evening "meetings; but being on one hand much in-"fested with rude people, and on the other "too often weakly conducted, they proved "dissatisfactory, and for these reasons friends "*had thought it* best to discontinue them."

Hereupon we were called in to dinner; but *I had little appetite*: after dinner I was called

out. Some of the elders had drawn together, and upon my coming to them, signified if I had a concern for an evening meeting, that they were willing to appoint one to begin at the sixth hour. I was afraid yet durst not refuse the proposal, so upon my assenting, the meeting was appointed, it was much crowded, and the life and power of truth was in dominion, which eased my mind of its burden and filled it with thankfulness.

From hence John Scott, May Drummond and I, came together with divers other friends to a meeting at Gainsborough, and on the first day after, were at the general meeting at Warnsworth, where we met with Joseph Storr. From thence John Scott and I came together to the monthly meeting at Leeds, where we met with our valuable ancient Friend William Slater. From Leeds I went in company with William Hird and his wife to the monthly meeting at Knaresborough, at which was John Fothergill, and from thence to the quarterly meeting at York, to which came in particular John Richardson, expected by few, having been thought to be near death for some time before, but being recovered a little, tho' still very feeble in body, but strong in faith, and warm in love to God and the brethren; in a journey of three days, which he had used to accomplish in one or less, he reached this city, to have one mo

solemn opportunity with his friends at th
meeting.

In the meeting of ministers the good o
man was enlarged in much weighty and per
ment counsel in the clear opening of Gosp
light.

From York I came with Mary Slater to Ski
ton, and from thence was accompanied by Jo
Binns to a general meeting at Croshaboot
where I met with Samuel Fothergill, Margu
Birtwhistle (afterwards married to Jonath
Rain) and Sarah Routh, who afterwards mar
ed William Taylor: next day in company wi
the two last to the quarterly meeting at L
caster.

Here in the meeting of ministers Marga
Birtwhistle appeared livelily and very sui
bly.

When I reached Whitehaven, I there
Susanna Morris and Elizabeth Morgan of Pe
sylvania just landed from Dublin having visit
Ireland. Susanna Morris was a good old wom
and a sound minister, whose faith was rema
ably tried; having twice suffered shipwr
on the coast of Ireland, and once, as I h
heard, on the western coast of Europe;
was preserved by that power and provide
on which she relied, and her faith not we
ened thereby.

One time it happened in the north of Ireland, and the other time off Dungarvan, when, as I have been credibly informed, after hanging some hours in the shrouds, apparently in imminent danger of being swept away by the waves every minute, and the storm continuing so violent that no boatmen durst venture out to their relief, a popish priest was made the instrument of her preservation, who by his influence and authority roused some of the inhabitants, at the risk of their lives to attempt the relief of her and others, which they providentially effected, and brought her and Joseph Taylor particularly, safe ashore.

When I landed from Whitehaven at Dublin, I there received a letter from my brother, informing me that their next province meeting was to be at Limerick next first day. Garret Hassen accompanying me, we left Dublin on fourth day morning and came that evening to Samuel Neale's at Christian's town, and were next day at the week-day meeting at Rathangan, and after meeting went to John Ridgeway's at Ballycarrol; next day we reached Roscrea, and Limerick the day following. At this province meeting I was prevailed on to stay and join in a visit to friends' families, towards which service Garret had before expressed some concern on his mind. We were accompanied by Joshua Beale of Cork, Job

Philips, George Pease and William Richardson of Limerick. It proved a memorable season: The pure influence of truth having prevailed in the preceding province meeting, had so prepared friends' minds, that we found in general great openness, and in some families scarce a dry eye. No hardness, that I remember, appeared, excepting in one family: and the head of that family, being an eager pursuer of the world, in some time after failed comsiderably in debt. From thence I came straight home to Cork.

On the whole of this long journey, and my third with a certificate, I have this observation to make. In my two first journeys being much among tender religious friends, my labour was easy and edifying, and I often had great consolation, and divine satisfaction among them: but in this last, coming to many places that were poor and flat, as to the life of religion, and where other things more prevailed, I often had suffering seasons, and came off but poorly.

In the next summer after my return, I removed from Cork, leaving my said brother John Gough there in my place, into Leinster province, and settled near Mountmelick.

I have good reason to believe that I followed right direction, and the gracious call of divine *goodness, in this removal*, on divers accounts, *as in the good hand of* God, the author of all *good, it proved a* blessing both to my wife and

myself. There lived hereaway at that time divers valuable spiritually-minded friends, thro' whose tender regard, counsel and help we gained fresh good, and to whom we felt great nearness of heart, and dear affection, in the pure love of the one eternal spirit.

Here I tried something of the linen-business, but found myself so unfit for dealing with the common people, that I saw, notwithstanding the kind assistance of some friends, I was not like to gain any thing by following this business. And as I had little else at present for a livelihood, it sometimes spread a dejection over my mind Such dispensations are humbling, deeply exercising our faith and patience, and proving our foundation and our confidence in divine protection, and reliance on heavenly help. They are what we generally call trials; and so they are: but when we consider that the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof, and that the cattle of a thousand hills are his; are not his favours trials as well as his chastisements? Affluence appears to me a trial as well as discouraging outward prospects; but a trial of a different nature, that is of our fidelity as stewards of the mercies of God, to whom we are all to be accountable for the discharge of the *trust he* hath invested us with, that *we consume them not* upon our lusts, as if that *was our own which* was given us to do good with *and be helpful* to others who may stand in need

and as the sunshine of prosperity is apt to lift men up too high, into a state of inconsiderateness and dissipation, I have thought it as a trial, whereby we are under greater danger and temptation: and have a greater cross to take up to be what we ought to be, than in humbler stations. It has not fallen to my lot to be much proved with trials of this kind, and I am led to believe that divine wisdom, who orders all things well, knew best what was best for me. For when prospects of things were pleasing I was too prone to be too much elevated, and therefore needed to be brought and kept low: but in the midst of my discouragement, a door of hope often opened to me, from the internal evidence and persuasion of my being in my right place, and of faith that all things would work together for good, if we were preserved thro' all to love and fear the Lord, and so I humbly trust it proved. For my wife under the like discouragement being brought low in her mind, it proved in the hand of God a good step to her to the more certain enjoyment of his blessed presence, and the comforts of his good spirit: She meeting with the like precious visitation here, as I had done before in Bristol, which made us partakers together, of the sweet sense of the gracious regard of him that is above all, *and closely linked* us together in true unity, and *deep thankfulness*, which often raised in us, to *our unspeakable* joy, the cheering hope of

dwelling-place, with the sanctified of the Lord in the regions of bliss. May I never forget such seasons of unmerited mercy and goodness.

In the spring of the next year my mind was again drawn to visit some parts of Cumberland and Westmorland. John Pim of Lacky and his wife offered me their eldest son Moses for a companion, which I accepted. We met at his brother-in-law Samuel Neale's at Christian's town. Thence we went next day some miles out of our way to see our dear friend Mary Peisly being at that time in affliction.

She had been a gay young woman, but in the youthful years of her gayety, she was favoured with a powerful and prevailing visitation of divine love, and giving up faithfully to the heavenly vision, she became a vessel of honour in the master's house, receiving a gift in the ministry, and being reverently, watchfully and livelily exercised therein to the edification of friends where her lot was cast. She was indeed an useful member and a shining ornament to the church.

I am ready to conclude, that none in our day from the time of this the effectual visitation of Christ to her soul, adhered with more steadiness to his guidance, through a variety of probations. She was most part of her time a member of the same monthly meeting with

myself. Often were we together in public meetings; often on family visits.

She visited friends in England, Ireland and North America pretty generally; and soon after her return from her last journey married our friend Samuel Neale, and in a few days after departed this life. I attended both at her marriage and her funeral, and am satisfied that she is gone to enjoy for ever the reward of a well-spent life, very much devoted to the service of God, and the promotion of truth upon earth.

After this visit of friendship, we got to Dublin on seventh day evening, and there on enquiry I was informed at several places, that the whole fleet of Whitehaven ships had gone off that day; but in my return from the quay, accompanied by my kind landlord Thomas Strangman, met a man, who told us there was one prevented from getting off. So I stayed the two meetings in Dublin the next day, and had a satisfactory time with my dear friends there. After dinner on second day we embarked, and on third day about noon landed at Whitehaven. That afternoon I went to John Harris's, and next morning set off with him and his wife, a valuable minister, to the quarterly meeting at Carlisle.

One thing appeared to me pleasingly remarkable at that time. By reason of wet weather,

people there were backward at their country work, and then very busy, yet several of the men, put forward their wives to go to the quarterly meeting, as they intended themselves to go to the northern yearly meeting to be at Kendal about two weeks from that time. We were that day pretty many in company, but more women then men, tho' both the roads and the weather were but indifferent. Hence I concluded that no other motive, but that of religious desire drew them from home. It affected my mind, and made me hope for a good meeting. The widow of our worthy friend Robert Atkinson, then about eighty years of age, with two other elderly women walked on foot eight miles to it.

On fifth day the quarterly meeting began, and on sixth day ended, and was a large and good meeting. On seventh day I reached Kendal, and visited meetings thereaway till the yearly meeting; and after it spent a few days thereabout, took leave of my poor mother, and never saw either the place of my nativity or her any more. She lived only about two or three years after this, and was favoured in her latter days with peace and quiet; which was mercifully continued to her last end.

This journey began well, like all my others; *but, alas! it did not* so continue and end, for *want of my steadily* adhering to the all-wis

guide in my whole conduct. Yet I rec
instruction from it, and learned to ex
more care in some things, wherein I saw
missed my way.

I embarked at Whitehaven for Dublin;
we were driven to the north, and put
Carlingford about fifty miles from Dublin.
passengers were three men and three wo
and this being a poor place, we could onl
two mean wretched horses, on which we h
the women by turns to Dundalk about fig
ten miles. From Dundalk we hired
horses which carried double well to Drog
where we lodged. Here were no horses
met with. So meeting with a return ch
agreed for the three women to go in i
myself setting forward on foot in compan
one of the passengers, I arrived in Dub
good time, and was at the half year's
there which was a satisfactory season.

Still seeing little or no prospect of gett
thing by the linen-business, one morni
mas Boake schoolmaster of Mountmeli
to acquaint me, that the doctor had
he must quit the school or lose his li
then in a bad state of health,) and
with me and others thereupon. He
ted it, and I succeeded him, in a se
indeed, as I found it, at my first en
it; for except a few friends who

had, who duly paid me, most of the rest put me off with promises, few of which were ever performed; so that a dull prospect still threatened, and looking back in my mind to both Bristol and Cork, I thought it a strange condition to which I was now reduced; yet hope in the Lord sometime supported and cheered my mind; and it was not long till things began to wear a better face; for first some friends of Dublin, and afterwards others from other parts sent their sons to board with us till we had above twenty boys boarded in our house, for whom we were well and duly paid.

About ten years after our marriage, my wife was delivered of a son, whom we named John, and in a few days after, she departed this life. For about two years before her disease she had been engaged a little in the work of the ministry; but her principal service was in friends' families and in the women's meetings (in which her service was much missed, when she was removed.) She died in a sweet frame of mind, and in near unity with good friends.

My brother had married at Youghal a relation of my wife's upon whose death, he and his wife came into my house at my desire; and in the winter following I visited Ulster province *pretty fully* and thoroughly, being at *sundry meetings* twice over; in this journey I *was favoured with* the company of old Robe

Richardson many miles, and to many meetings, in severe weather, and he about eighty-four years of age.

I had a particular concern to have a meeting in the town of Belfast: I consulted Robert upon it; but he did not encourage it, not one of our profession living in that town: He said he had been at sundry meetings there, but few of them proved to satisfaction. So I left the matter for some days: but the concern followed me still. And it opened in my mind, that if I would have the bread of life to my soul, I must go to the place appointed for me to receive it, viz. to Belfast.

I thereupon consulted sundry other friends, all of whom approved of it. Upon application the town hall was obtained for it, and fitted up with seats of deal-boards. Sundry friends attended from the meetings of Ballinderry, Lisburn, Hillsborough, and Newtown, particularly from Lisburn several friends accompanied me, and old Robert could not be easy without coming along in the rere of the company; he sat next to me on the justices' bench.

The magistrates were so favourable, as to order the constables to stand at the door to keep out the rabble: The inhabitants of the town of upper rank with their wives and children came to it in a decent solid manner.

I had a great weight and fear on my mind respecting the undertaking; but proceeding on the foundation hinted above; a steady hope and reverent dependence on the Almighty stayed my mind, and I thought my friends felt for me, and felt unity of heart with me. The meeting was eminently favoured with the clear light of the gospel, and the sweet sense and enjoyment of divine life and goodness. After the meeting, Robert in a tender thankful frame of mind expressed his satisfaction, as did divers other friends. It proved a good day, honourable to the cause of truth, and affording solid joy to us, who attended that meeting, which had been crowned with the divine presence.

After this I had meetings of the like kind at Dungannon, Moira, and Legicurry or Rich-hill, all of them open, and comfortable. And indeed in this visit to Ulster province, I was favoured often with the supporting evidence of my being under right direction. It had been on my mind for some years before, and I thought I had waited till the right time.

I was accompanied in this journey many miles and to many meetings by my esteemed friend Thomas Greer, whose company was truly acceptable: also by my dear friend Susanna Hatton to such *meetings as she* could get out conveniently *to attend.*

Sometime after I also visited Munster province, accompanied by my friend John Pim of Lacky.

About this time the Methodists had got some footing in sundry parts of Ireland, and in Mountmelick in particular: John Curtis, a friend of Bristol, who had been one of them about a year having been afterward convinced of our principles, and received a gift of the ministry, came over upon a religious visit to friends in Ireland, amongst whom his service was very acceptable.

I was with him at a large meeting in the court-house in Athy, at another in the assembly-room at Athlone, and at several others which were very large. He appeared in inwardness of mind to attend upon his gift, and follow its leading; and concluded his service in Ireland with an epistle to friends whom he had visited, which the national meeting ordered to be printed.

I mention this by reason of what follows.

One afternoon John Wesley made his first entrance into Mountmelick, attended by a large company on horseback of those who joined him in society. As several of their ministers had been here before, some of whom had invited me to come, and bring my family, to hear them preach the gospel, I had not as yet found freedom to go: but hearing that John Wesley was to preach that evening in the open market-place, I was not easy to avoid going. So I went

and standing at a friend's shop-door, I heard him begin with the following preamble or introduction:

"Before I unfold to you the oracles of God "I must first remove a stumbling-block out of "the way, which is this; I understand one "John Curtis from Bristol hath of late been "travelling in these parts, and endeavouring to "lay waste that good work, which it hath pleas-"ed God to carry on by our hands, giving out "that he was formerly a Methodist and ac-"quainted with me. Now he never was a "Methodist to my knowledge, and I think he "could not be one in or about Bristol without "it: And as to any acquaintance with the said "John Curtis, I solemnly declare I never had "any; only I remember being twice in his "company occasionally, about eight years ago. "I hope no man will account me an offender "for speaking the truth. If George Fox were "here he would embrace me for it."

This was the substance of his introduction in the same words, or very nearly the same, in which he delivered it, for I gave good attention to this part. Then he proceeded to what he called unfolding the oracles of God, which I thought was stamping the matter far too high.

That evening I got two friends to accompany

me to his lodging to speak to him hereupon. At the first mentioning of the subject he discovered some warmth. "I tell you John Curtis "has done more harm in his journey thro' "these parts, than ever he will do good as long "as he lives. He has gone about scattering "poison." This high charge he undertook to prove thus. "What poison is to the body, "that bigotry is to the mind; but John Cur- "tis has been industrious to sow bigotry, that "is to sow disaffection in the hearts of chris- "tians toward one another, barely on account "of difference in opinion."

To all this I replied to the following import, "I was an entire stranger to John Curtis "till he came into these parts, since which I "had made use of the opportunity of contracting "an acquaintance with him, and being pretty "much in his company, I have known him to "be influenced with the universal love of God, "and that he has endeavoured to propagate the "same in others. This thou canst never call "scattering poison; and if my account differ "from thine, so doth the foundation on which it "is built. For thine is only upon hear-say, "which is too slender a foundation whereupon "publicly to asperse any man's character who "*is not present to* answer and vindicate him- "*self.*" *At this he seemed somewhat confused, and acknowledged* that he had not duly con-

sidered that part of the matter; but thought he might depend on the sundry repeated informations, he had received from different quarters.

"I farther observed to him that he ought to "have duly regarded our Lord's directions not "to judge, &c. For if any good is done it is "the Lord that doth it, and in what way, and by "what instruments he pleases; and therefore "all the glory of it is due to him alone, and no "part of that glory or honour to any instrument, "which can do nothing of itself, and that it "would be a sin in any instrument to take to "itself what was due to God only: and that if "John Curtis faithfully did what the Lord "directed, he would be accepted, tho' no "shining outward effects should arise from "it".

"And in regard to what thou hast alledged of "*his sowing disaffection in the hearts of Chris-*"*tians, towards one another, barely on account of* "*difference in opinion;* something occurs to me "on that head, which is that John Curtis might "be endued with a sense of the danger, which "some might be in of magnifying and extolling "certain men instead of giving all glory to "God; and might apprehend it to be his duty "to *caution and guard* them against that danger, "*which might* be misconstrued by some, as

"seeking to sow disaffection toward those men "and their adherents;" or to this effect.

This opportunity concluded peaceably, with John Wesley's acknowledging, "that it had "been to his edification, and that he therefore "wished he could get the like opportunities "with our friends more frequently; that he saw "some things in a clearer light than he had done "before, and that he would never say any "thing against John Curtis publicly again, un- "less he administered a real foundation for it." I heard he had the day before made the same preamble, or to the same purport before his sermon at Edenderry, and would probably have gone on so from place to place.

I writ to John Curtis hereupon, who answered that he never pretended to, nor ever spoke of his having any intimate acquaintance with John Wesley; but that he was regularly a methodist for some time, he sent me a certificate, signed by several of the same fraternity, and some other testimonials.

Hereupon he writ to John Wesley, and sent me over copies of the letters that passed between them. I did not see that this paper-war, if continued, would be likely to serve any good purpose, and so I wrote to him, and it *dropped*. And all the use I made of the above-*said testimonials* was occasionally to shew

them to some of the methodist and to one of their ministers.

I was glad to see some in that part awakened out of their sleep of darkness, to a thoughtfulness about their souls, and sincerely wished the increase and promotion of solid piety: but I had opportunity to observe there that those who were innocent and well-minded before, have continued the most steady and circumspect in their conduct; that those who had before gone into gross pollutions, being induced to believe that regeneration was an instantaneous, not a gradual work, did not sufficiently remain under repentance, to let it have its perfect work; and that instead of pressing forward after the perfection of the inward life, denying self, and a conformity to this world in its corruptions, in language and practice, their zeal too much settled in the frequency of their meetings, hearing sermons, praying, singing, reading, and treasuring up scripture texts and passages in their memories, talking them over too lightly and customarily, in conversation, which rendered these divine truths like salt without the proper savour, taking from them the awful weight and dignity due to them.

By these means christian fortitude for standing stedfast in a reverent simplicity and holy vigilance soon retired; a silent dependance on Christ the true teacher was irksome, and tha

dependance which was due to him misplaced on fallible men. The consequence was a dwindling, a blast on the first buddings of heavenly desires, a decay of the divine life: and many of them soon returned, like the sow that was washed, to wallow in the mire and filth of transgression again; and threw off the affectation, the insipid and surfeiting talk of religion; the form of godliness which they had too much gloried in, for want of humbly abiding under the purifying power thereof.

Sometime after this a vacancy falling out in the city of Dublin by the death of John Beetham friends' shoolmaster there, and the return of George Routh, who had tried the place after him, to England, my brother being encouraged by friends there to take up the charge of that school, seemed inclined thereto, and as the prospect seemed promising, I freely assented to his removal.

After mentioning his marriage with Elizabeth Barnes, daughter of Thomas Barnes of Waterford, James Gough proceeds:

About two weeks after our marriage we went together to the summer half year's meeting in Dublin. In our way thither we spent the first day among our friends at Timahoe, it being the last meeting there to many of them. For in a *few days after, several* of their families came to *Dublin, to embark for* North Carolina, to settle *upon my cousin* Arthur Dobbs's lands there, who

was their Landlord at Timahoe, and who upon my application, had offered to me for life, and after it to my son John and his heirs one thousand acres of that land: Robert Millhouse of Timahoe was to chuse land, next to that, which himself should take, but the captain of the ship in which they went, not being well acquainted with the coast, ran too far to the southward, landed them at Charles-Town in South-Carolina, and thereupon they settled in that Province, so I was disappointed in my expectation of getting the land taken up by him. Two other opportunities afterwards presented some probability of getting them taken up; but by various accidents, my hopes were again disappointed: may all disappointments of this kind incite to a greater diligence in seeking the one thing needful, that good part, which shall never be taken away.

We resided about ten years after our marriage in Mountmelick; during which time an increasing private family, and the necessary attendance of my house and school, prevented my going any great journey, but I attended monthly, province, and national meetings generally, in which I was often favoured with my brethren, with the fresh arisings of life, and the renewing of inward strength.

My wife being of a very weakly and tender constitution, I apprehended the fatigue an

burdensome care of a boarding school, a load too heavy for her, and from hence conceived a desire, with submission to the ordering of divine providence, of a place where the weight might rest more upon my shoulders, and less on hers: and, having made previous application, I received an invitation to return to Bristol, and resume the school there.

Hereupon after some time, I threw up my school in Mountmelick, attended the fifth month national meeting at Dublin, after which I embarked there with three friends more, to attend the yearly meeting at London. We went aboard on fifth day morning, and landed at Parkgate next morning, and had an evening meeting at Liverpool. On seventh day went to Warrington: on first day morning, to the general meeting at Franley in Cheshire. On second day we reached Birmingham; after meeting there on third day we went to Coventry. On fourth day after meeting at Coventry, we reached Towcester, and London the next day. After the yearly meeting was over, Isaac Jackson returned home; Joshua Wilson staid a little time amongst his relations; and Joseph Inman and I, accompanied by our kind landlord John Eliott of London, on third day came *to an evening* meeting at Reading, appointed to *begin at the* sixth hour. Next morning Joseph *Inman and I* were at the monthly meeting

Newberry, and that evening at a small meeting at Marlborough; on fifth day we came to a meeting at Calne, and after it to John Fry's at Sutton-benjar. Next day after meeting there to Bath, and on seventh day to Bristol, where we stayed till sixth day morning, when leaving Bristol, we crossed the new passage into Wales. that night came to Cardiff, and the next to Swansea, where we stayed over the first day; and on a second day were at an evening meeting at Caermarthen. On third day at Llandewy-brevy. On fourth day, by way of Llaneedless we reached John Goodwin's. At Llaneedless we went to see a friend's widow. We found her spinning in her poor habitation, and she seemed rejoiced to see us, and as we had no guide, she readily offered herself for a guide to John Goodwin's, which they called five miles: but it took us near three hours riding.

On fifth day after meeting, at this ancient worthy friend's house, we went to his son-in-law Humphry Owen's, on the seaside, who had married John's Eldest daughter: On sixth day after meeting, said Humphry accompanied us to his brother Lewis Owen's, near Dolgelthy in Merionethshire; and next day along a mountainous road to Carnarvon, where we stayed, and had a meeting by ourselves, and after dinner came to Holyhead on first day evening

On second day morning about two o'clock our kind friend saw us on board the packet-boat and then took leave of us. On third day in the evening we landed in Dublin, and next evening I got safe home to my wife and children, in Mountmelick.

After my return I attended the quarterly meeting for Munster at Clonmel, and that for Leinster at Enniscorthy, and then I got my large family ready for our removal, consisting of my wife and her mother in her eightieth year, eight children, and a nurse to the youngest about eight months old. With the assistance of sundry kind friends, particularly Thomas Strangman of Mountmelick, we all got well to Waterford, and from thence, after staying about ten days with our friends there, to Bristol.

Now leaving Ireland, after having sojourned there about twenty-four years, and received much affection and kindness from many friends there, of which I hope to retain the grateful remembrance as long as my memory shall continue, let me review the state of our society there, during that space of time.

At my first going thither, there were yet living in most parts of the nation, where meetings were settled, some of the good old stock both ministers and elders, who loved God and mankind, and were esteemed and beloved by them, being kind and open-hearted, as well as faith-

ful and circumspect in all the branches of our christian testimony, closely uniting in tender love one with another, in supporting it, and keeping things in good order in the church. Their pious care herein was like a fense about the flock, which kept them together in nearer unity and greater safety: So that the young people in most parts were generally trained up in innocence of manners, and in plainness of habit and speech.

Some indeed, chiefly of the young men grown up, had for some time past, refused submission to the good order established; but I lived there long enough to see the unhappy consequences thereof, both to themselves, many of them, and to the body whereof they were members. What tho' their tables abounded with elegant dishes, and variety of liquors; tho' they made a figure, and were envied or caressed for a time; yet most of them were either cut short by death, or fell into disgrace. The hand of the Lord seemed to be against these introducers, and spreaders of corrupt liberty: and they never attained thereby that true honour and peace, which attended the worthy men and women above hinted, to whom the first excursion of such was matter of *great concern and anxiety from a clear foresight of the hurtful consequences thereof: and much labour and pains,* they took to put a stop to i

and prevent the spreading thereof, particularly in the city of Cork, and therefore they were clear of it.

But tho' some of these were too big for the girdle of truth, to meet about them, or to be limited by the desires of their best friends; yet I found the discipline of the church better maintained, during my first years in Cork, than before them in Bristol, tending to edification, brotherly comfort and love, and mutual encouragement in piety and virtue, with a joint desire and care to preserve an uniform regularity, and to revive and maintain a religious fervency toward God.

Some friends from the several parts attended their province meetings, which were held regularly once in six weeks, and circulated from one part to another, yet were most frequently held in Cork. Those meetings were often sweetly favoured, thro' the coming together of sincere, lively spirited friends: At one of these meetings, in particular in Cork soon after my coming to it, we had the company of John Duckett from Leinster, a worthy elder. In the men's meeting he spoke to us with such divine authority and sweetness, that to me his words seemed fitly spoken indeed, and *like apples of gold in pictures of silver.*

Their half year's meetings in Dublin were attended by some friends from most parts of

the nation. Here in their meetings for discipline, as well as for worship, a zeal for the honour of God, and the good of the church presided, and friends were excited to keep all things in proper order in the church. The first time I attended a half year's meeting was in the winter 1742, and it was indeed a lively good meeting, which I hope never to forget. After I removed from Cork to Mountmelick I attended the national, and provincial meetings for Leinster pretty constantly, and often in them was affected with reverent gratitude to the Almighty, who by the discoveries of the divine wisdom instituted them for the support and edification of the church, and in them frequently owned the gatherings of his people in his name, by the evident manifestation of his divine presence.

In process of time these worthy men and women, in whose hearts the love of God and his people, had by long growth become deeply rooted, one after another finished their course honourably, leaving an excellent savour behind them; but when they were removed, very few of the youth or others, succeeded them in the right line, to fill up their vacant places with propriety. Of their survivors, on one hand, a *considerable number* retained the ancient plainness *of language* and habit, and rigidly censorious *of any deviation* therefrom, valued themselv

thereupon, as if it were the only test and badge of discipleship: while their hearts were gone after their covetousness in eagerly pursuing, and sordidly hording temporal wealth. On the other hand a large body of youth and others shooting up in self-indulgence, in conformity to the world, and rushing headlong into the temptations of the times.

Yet amidst this inundation of negligence and revolt, there remain in most places a number of sincere hearted friends, a few worthy ministers and elders: but within these twenty years past, there has been a great alteration for the worse.

The proposals which friends of Bristol made me, appeared sufficiently encouraging to promise a probable prospect of a pretty easy situation, as to temporals, and when in Mountmelick, this city was presented to my view for a residence for me and my family, it was brought to my remembrance, how in my young years, it was made to me what Bethel was to Jacob in his youthful time, when all alone with his staff, he travelled obeying the command of his parents; that is, the place, where the Lord first visited me with his power and light, and was a father to me, when I was as it were alone, *and far from* my parents and all my relations; *and how he* called Jacob after many years, and *a great increase* of family, to go up again to

Bethel and dwell there, and erect an altar to his God: how Jacob thereupon, obliged his household to put away their strange gods, to be clean, and change their garments: and so they went. Under this view, I hoped this removal might be attended with beneficial effects to me and mine, and that I had in degree divine concurrence therein, being divinely favoured among my dear friends in Ireland in my last taking leave of them.

But promised happiness in this life often proves a phantom that flies from us as we pursue; we often think we have it in prospect, but it still keeps beyond our reach: They who would attain certain and durable happiness, should extend their views beyond this life.

For notwithstanding the apparent encouraging prospect, after a while I found things, both provisions and labour, so much dearer here than in Ireland, that discouragements and embarrassments crowded upon me to that degree, that I was often brought very low, under the gloomy prospect: and my faith was put to a severe trial: yet it pleased kind providence to make way for me, and raise me relief in his own time, for which I desire to be ever gratefully thankful, and unreservedly dedicated in heart to his *service, whose* mercies fail not.

Here also I found a change in another respect *not agreeable to the* natural disposition. He

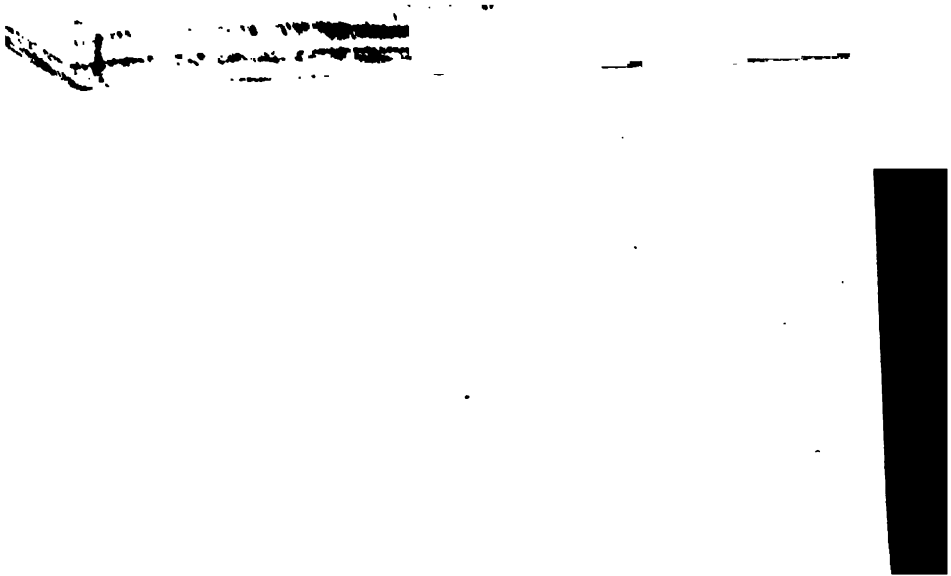
who had visited my soul, and called me into the ministry, had given me a great place in the particular and near regard, affection and esteem of friends in Ireland, where I had an open door and was often much enlarged in gospel love. Mostly attending the province meetings in Leinster, friends were rejoiced to see me, and apt to think me much missed, if at any time I did not get out to any of them. Whenever I did, I met such a welcome reception amongst friends (being often opened to their edification, and to our mutual endearment to each other in the sweet streams of divine life) and such ready attendance and kindness as were very pleasing to nature.

But coming from thence to Bristol, where I was now become a stranger to many, and where they were full fed as to vocal ministry, I was here very much shut up, and for a season seemed to have lost the caresses, cordial invitations, and that place I had amongst friends in Ireland; which, however, tho' in my present trying circumstances, a seemingly additional discouragement, was not an unprofitable dispensation: for tho' it was the great favour of the Almighty, whereby I was opened among my friends to their edification, and their hearts opened towards me; yet herein the enemy artfully laid his snares, and *too much and too often*, prevailed over my *unwatchful soul* to my inward hurt. For what are

all the caresses of mankind? Of small value, in themselves, and often injurious to them whom they please, conveying hidden poison to the unguarded mind; while that which alone will stand us in real stead, and be of infinite advantage, is to get and keep the favour of the Almighty: may I therefore want, and even reject, whatever would please, and nourish that spirit, which ought to come under daily mortification!

The inward near unity, sympathy, esteem and affection of friends and brethren is a very grateful and pleasing enjoyment; but it may be proper and good for us to be tried and proved with being stripped of every leaning stock, but the only sure foundation, that we may thereby, be driven to have recourse to it, and keep our only safe habitation there. May this, after a life so tossed up and down, as mine has been, at length become my case on any terms! and if it be, it will be more than worth all I have yet suffered, were it many times more: For all else will be soon over; but this will never end.

END OF THE JOURNAL.



AN

ACCOUNT

OF

THE LIFE

OF

JOHN RICHARDSON;

INTRODUCED

WITH A BRIEF RELATION CONCERNING HIS FATHER

WILLIAM RICHARDSON.

It has been repeatedly revived in my mind, to leave the following account concerning my dear father WILLIAM RICHARDSON, having also seen something of his own in manuscript, concerning his convincement, with remarks on some other things; but I being young when he died, did not then much heed it, and when I would *gladly have seen it* for my own satisfaction, *I could not, nor* as yet can meet with it; therefore,

Inasmuch as my father was early convinced of the truth, a sufferer for it, and bore a public testimony to it, I found it my duty, as near as I could remember the contents thereof, to leave this short account concerning him, *viz.*

He was born at North Cave, in the east part of Yorkshire, in the year 1624, of honest parents, and of good repute; and was educated in the Episcopal way, being soberly inclined from his childhood and upward, a lover and seeker after purity and virtue; and I have heard him say, gave his mind much to retirement, reading the Holy Scriptures, breathing and seeking after the Lord, especially in the fields, being by calling a shepherd; and it pleased the Lord to open his understanding so clearly, that he saw and longed for a more excellent dispensation to come; and also saw that the priests were wrong, and generally proud and covetous, so that he was weary with following them, and much weaned from them and all company, except two or three men who did meet with him, and spoke one unto another concerning their inward conditions, and what they had experienced of the Lord's dealings with them. This was before they had heard of the name *Quaker*, as it was in a short time after given to a people which the Lord raised up to give tetimony of the notable and ancient, yet *newly revived and* blessed dispensation of Christ's *coming, and manifestation* by the Holy Spirit,

nwardly in the hearts and minds of the children of men, in order to enlighten, quicken, sanctify, and save them from darkness, death, ignorance and sin, that they might be made capable of obeying, worshipping, and glorifying the great God and sanctifier of them.

And as my father was thus waiting and looking for a more general breaking forth of this glorious, powerful, and gospel day, which had in a good degree sprung up in his heart, he had not, as yet, seen that worthy and good man, GEORGE FOX, although he passed through those parts about that time; but soon after came WILLIAM DEWSBERRY, and at the sound of his voice, I have heard my father say, he was exceeding glad in hearing him declare the way to find the lost piece of silver, the pearl of great price *within*, a Savour *near*, that had been held forth, by men to be at a distance. But having left the dark watchmen, of whom they used to inquire, they now met with their beloved at home, in their own bosoms; renowned be the name of the Lord, now and for ever.

Thus the hearing and receiving the ever blessed truth, was as the seed, or word of the kingdom, sown in the good ground, or honest hearts of men, which took root downward and sprang upward, *and brought* forth fruit in some thirty, *in some sixty*, and in others an hundred fold, *to the praise of* the great and good husbandman.

My said father was early raised to bear a public testimony, which was living and acceptable to friends, but was so much attended with weakness of body for many years, that he went little abroad in the work of the ministry. He suffered patiently the spoiling of his goods, and imprisonment of his weakly body, in the great and more general imprisonment; he not only believed in Jesus Christ, but suffered for him; he was a good neighbour, a loving husband, and a tender father over all that was good, but severe to all that which was wrong, and was for judgment, without respect of persons, and spared it not even to his own children; and especially he was much concerned for me, for, as he said, I was the wildest of them; and as he lived well, and believed in Jesus Christ, I doubt not but he has finished his course in the love and favour of God, is entered into a mansion of glory, and is at rest with all the faithful, who loved not their lives unto death, but rather hated them in comparison of that endeared and unfeigned love they bore to God the Father, and to Jesus Christ his dear and well-beloved Son, who died for them, and also for the whole world.

He departed this life 1679, aged about fifty-five years, and was buried in Friends burying-*place at Hotham*, near Cave, where he was born.

NOW having given the foregoing short account concerning my father, it remains with me to leave to posterity some remarks on my convincement, with an account of sundry transactions, travels, and deliverances I met with, in and from my youth to this day.

I was young when my father died, not above thirteen years of age, yet the Lord was at work by his light, grace, and Holy Spirit in my heart, but I knew not then what it was which inwardly disquieted my mind, when any thing which was evil did prevail over the good in me, which it oftentimes did, for want of taking heed to that of God in my heart; I desired ease and peace some other way, without taking up the cross of Christ to my own corrupt will, and strove for some time (as no doubt many do) to make merry over the just witness, until for a season the converting and true witness of God seemed to be slain, or disappeared, and then I took liberty, but not in gross evils which many ran into, being preserved religiously inclined, seeking after professors, and inquiring of them, for my information and satisfaction, to find, if I could, any thing that was safe to rest in, or *any true* and solid comfort to my poor *disconsolate* and bewildered soul, but I was *afraid I should* be deceived, or take up a false

rest in any thing that was wrong or unsafe; which was the great love and mercy of God to me. But after many searchings and inquirings among those who were but in the letter without, and in the outward court, where the veil is over the understanding, and the eye of the mind is not truly opened to see into things that are invisible, and hid from all carnal-minded men; even so were my state and afflictions hid from them, and all the deceitful workings of Satan, and the strong temptations which I met with, these blind guides could not see, nor their veiled understandings know how to direct me to the true Shepherd of Israel the Lawgiver coming out of Sion, that turns away ungodliness from Jacob, and transgression from Israel; not having truly experienced deliverance wrought in them out of this cloudy, bewildered, and tempted state which I was in.

After much searching without, amongst those who proved to me *physicians of no value*, and *miserable comforters*, I betook myself to a lonesome and retired life, breathing after, and seeking the Lord in the fields, and private places, beseeching him, that he would bring me to the saving knowledge of his truth; and blessed be the name of the Lord now and for *ever, I had not sought* him long with all my *heart, before I met* with his inward appearance *to me, in and by* his Holy Spirit, light, and

grace; but when the true light did begin to shine more clearly, and the living witness did arise in my inward man, oh! then my undone, bewildered, and miserable condition began to appear, and then great and unutterable were my conflicts, and the distress I was in; I thought no man's condition upon the face of the whole earth was like mine; I thought I was not fit to die, neither did I know how to live; I thought in the evening, *Oh that it was morning!* and in the morning, *that it was evening!* I had many solitary walks in the fields, and other places, in which I many times poured out my complaints and cries before the Lord, with fervent supplications to him, that he would look upon my affliction, and the strong temptations I was then under, and that he would rebuke the adversary of my soul, and deliver it, for I even thought it was in the jaws of a devouring lion, and amongst the fiery spirits, and, as it were, under the weight of the mountains.

Although I had seen many things, and had divers openings, yet great were my trials, and many were the temptations I met with in those days, for I lived at a distance from friends, and meetings, which made my exercise the harder, *as will more fully* hereafter appear, in the course *of my travels* and pilgrimage in this vale of *ears and troubles*, and some of them not very

common; but the Lord helped me through them all, blessed be his name for ever.

I now came to witness that Scripture to be fulfilled which saith, that *When the Lord's judgments are in the earth*, or earthly hearts of men, *the inhabitants learn righteousness*: and notwithstanding there was an aversion in my wild nature to the people in scorn called *Quakers*, as also to the name itself, yet when the afflicting hand of the Lord was upon me for my disobedience, and when, like Ephraim and Judah, I saw in the light *my hurt and my wound*, I bemoaned myself, and mourned over that just principle of light and grace in me, which I had pierced with my sins and disobedience; and although that ministration of condemnation was glorious in its time, yet great were my troubles, which humbled my mind, and made me willing to deny myself of every thing which the light made known in me to be evil, I being in great distress, and wanting peace and assurance of the love of God to my soul; the weight of which so humbled my mind, that I knew not of any calling, people practice, or principle, that was lawful and right which I could not embrace, or fall in with. This was surely like the day of Jacob's troubles, *David's* fears; I saw that the filth of Sion *to be purged* away by the spirit of judgment *of burning*; this is the way of the deli

and recovery of poor men out of the fall, and the time of the restoration of the kingdom to God's true Israel. Read ye that can and understand. This was the day of my baptism into the love of God, and true faith in his beloved Son, as also into a feeling of, or sympathy with him in his sufferings, which were unutterable, and I found that ministration changed: that which had been unto death, was now unto life; and the ministration which was of condemnation unto the first birth, when that was slain, and in a good degree nailed or fastened to the cross of Christ, the power of God, then the good prevailed over the evil.

Whereas there had been an aversion in me to the people called in scorn *Quakers*, and also to their strict living, and demeanour, plainness of habit, and language, so none of these I learned from them; for when the Lord changed my heart, he also changed my thoughts, words, and ways, and there became an aversion in me to vice, sin, and vanity, as there had been to the ways of virtue; but having tasted of the terrors and judgments of God because of sin, I was warned to flee from such things as occasioned Christ's coming, *not to bring peace upon the earth, but a sword;* a sword indeed, yea, his heart-*penetrating*, searching word, which is *sharper than any two-eged* sword, that pierceth *to the cutting* or *dividing* asunder between flesh

and spirit, joints and marrow. And as thus I came to see and abhor the evil in myself, when such who had been my companions in vanity reviled me, or came in my way, I was often moved to warn and reprove them, having, as before hinted, tasted of the terrors of the Lord for sin, I could not well forbear to warn others to flee such things as I had been judged for. Now I came clearly to be convinced about the hat-honour, bowing the knee, the corrupt language, as well as finery in habit; all which, for conscience-sake, and the peace thereof, I came to deny, and take up the cross to, and had great peace in so doing.

Although the blessed truth thus prevailed in me, yet notwithstanding I was not without great conflicts of spirit, temptations, and trials of divers kinds; nevertheless my mind was resigned to the Lord, and my fervent prayers were to him, and he kept me, and opened my understanding, for I was afraid of being misled in any thing, especially relating to my salvation; I came to be weaned from all companions and lovers which I had taken delight and pleasure in, and all things in this world were little to me, my mind being much redeemed out of the world, and not only the corrupt *and evil part* thereof, but even from the *best part*; so that my heart and mind became *inclined* and given up to seek the Lord,

upon him to feel his presence, and peace, and to know his will, and receive power to do the same.

As thus my mind came to be brought into a depending and waiting frame upon the Lord, and to be stayed in the light, and experimentally and feelingly to partake of his love and grace, which helped me against my infirmities, blessed be his name, I found it sufficient for me, as I kept to it, in all trials and temptations: then I came to see, that all the outward performances in matters of religion did not avail nor render man acceptable to God, but as the heart came to be truly given up to him, that he might not only purge it from defilement, but keep it clean through the indwelling of his Holy Spirit: and, as near as I remember, I saw clearly through these things before the sixteenth year of my age; although, between the death of my father and this time, I took liberty to go among what people I would, my mother giving us great liberty, although she was a woman well accounted of among all people who knew her and not undeservedly, for her industry and fair dealing concerning the things of this world.

After this time I attended the meetings of the Lord's people called *Quakers*, as diligently as my circumstances would well admit; my mother being left with five children, I had only one sister who was elder than myself

and three brothers younger, the youngest about three years old when my father died, he leaving but little of this world to bring us up with; yet my parents always had as much as kept them above contempt, and nobody lost by them; but I found myself under a necessity to work hard for my own support, the help of my mother, and education of my brothers, more especially as my sister died soon after.

We being left in a farm of grazing, and part husbandry or tillage, did well as to the things of this world, yet I cannot well omit mentioning one thing which became a great exercise to me, which was thus: My mother married one that was zealous for the Presbytery, and I being much against it, shewed my dislike to the marriage, and told my mother, I was afraid that she had too much an eye to what he had for he was counted rich as to this world; but if she thought to augment our portion in marrying, the hand of the Lord would against her, and a blasting or mildew would come upon even that which we had got through industry and hard labour, and what the had intended to have blessed to us, if we faithful to the truth, and contented ourselves our present conditions. Then my mother *fessed*, that as to the worldly enjoyments *not* been better with her than now. *write* with great caution; she was m

and a tender mother over me, and was loth to offend me, and had promised, as far as she well durst, not to marry with any one with whom I was not satisfied. But as to their procedure in courtship, and marriage, from this time I was entirely ignorant, until it was accomplished. But when my poor mother was married, her cry was, "My son, how shall I ever be able to look him in the face any more, it will be such a trouble to him; he that hath not at any time disobliged me, but if I bid him go, he ran; and if I bid him do any thing, he did it with all his might;" or to that effect, as several told me who heard her. But she being married, what we had was mixed with my father-in-law's goods, and my mother died first, and our father married again, made his will, and dying, left me five shillings for all my part, which was of right to descend from my own parents upon me; I gave his executors a receipt in full, and there was an end of all, except some small matter given to my youngest brother, for the rest of my brothers and sisters were dead. As near as I remember, this marriage was in the eighteenth year of my age, so that what I foresaw about the blast and mildew, came to pass.

Now to return to my further account concerning the troubles and trials that attended me in the time while I was in my father-in-law and mother's house, after marriage; we, and what we

had, being removed to his house, except part of the stock which was left in the ground. Now I foresaw that I was like to come to a great trial, and I was brought very low, what with the trouble about the marriage, and the exercise of my mind concerning my own condition, having had many great conflicts of spirit, so that I was almost in despair, had not the Lord, in whom I believed, risen in his power, and rebuked the adversary of my soul, I had been overthrown and swallowed up in the floods of the temptations that were cast out of the mouth of the red fiery-like dragon after me, in this the day of my great and strong trouble and travail; but the God of love and pity saw me, and helped me in my distress, and in a day and time acceptable; he that heard poor Ishmael when he cried from under the shrub, and sent or gave relief to him and his mother, who with him was gone from Abraham's house, saw me in this great strait. Also when I came to my father's house, he being a man much given to family duties, of saying grace, &c. before and after meat, none of which I could comply with except I felt evidently the spirit of truth to attend therein, and open the heart and mouth into such duties. The first day I came to the house, being called to the table with all or most of the *family, I thought*, "Is it now come to this? I *must either* displease my heavenly or earthly *father:*" *but*, oh! the awfulness, or deep exercise

which was upon my spirit, and strong cries that ascended unto the Lord for my help and preservation that I might not offend him. My father-in-law sat with his hat partly on, and partly off, with his eyes fixed on me, as likewise, mine were on him in much fear; so we continued as long or longer than he used to be in saying grace, as they call it, but said nothing that we heard; so at length he put on his hat again, to the wonder of the family: neither did he then, or ever after, ask me why I did not put off my hat; neither did he perform that ceremony all the time I stayed with him, which was above one year: thus the Lord helped me, renowned be his great name now and for ever. My father might seem for age, spirit, and understanding, to have been much more than a match for me, a poor shrub, but the Lord (who caused the pillar of the cloud to be bright and give light to Israel, and brought darkness upon the Egyptians, and fought against them, and for Israel) I believe touched and smote my poor father, that he could not rise up against that power the Lord helped me with; for it was not mine but the Lord's doing, to him be given the attributes of praise, salvation and strength, now and for ever. I saw clearly, that there could not be any true and *acceptable* worship performed to God, by *what was in the* spirit, and in the truth; neit

could any pray aright, but as the spirit helped them, which teacheth how to pray, and what to pray for, and rightly prepares the mind, and guides it in the performance of every service which the Lord calls for from his children.

I found my father-in-law was much displeased with my going to meetings, yet I could not see what way to appease his displeasure, except in being very diligent (which I was) in his business, rather beyond my ability, working very hard; it is almost incredible what my poor little weak body went through in those days, but all would not gain his love, for the longer I staid with him, the more his love declined from me; although I told him he need not be uneasy about my wages for I would leave that to himself: I could not see what he could have against me, except my going to meetings; however that was all he alleged. Now when his former stratagems would not do, he offered me a horse to ride on, if I would go with him to his place of worship. I met with many a snib and sour countenance from him, in my return on foot from meetings, although as seasonably as my body was capable of performing; for my father commonly sent me on the first-day mornings into the fields a mile or two, *and as far upon a* common to look at beasts, *horses and sheep*, (all this on foot) I thought *with a design to* weary and make me uncapable

of going to meetings; all which I bore patiently, neither, that I remember, ever said, *this is hard usage:* after all this, to the great grief of my poor mother, I had to go two, three, four, five, and sometimes six miles, to friends' meetings. After I had walked fast, and ran sometimes with my shoes under my arms for want of time, I have seen many friends weep, and could not forbear when they saw me come into the meeting very hot and in a great sweat, they being in part sensible of the hard task I had to undergo.

Now the last stratagem my father used, to hinder my going to meetings was thus: He took me in his arms in great shew of kindness, saying, If I would be as a son to him, I should find he would be a father to me, expressing something about his having no near kindred, (and much more to the same effect he said to my brother Daniel, who was an innocent, wise, and clean spirited lad) I replied to him, "If in thus making me thy son, thou intends to hinder me from going to meetings, or to oblige me to go with thee to the Presbyterian meetings, or any thing that is against my conscience, I cannot upon this bottom be thy son;" and, for the same reasons, I refused to be his hired servant, although he offered to hire me, and give me wages. Now when he saw that neither frowns, threatenings, hardships, nor great pro

mises of kindness could prevail with me, he told me bluntly and roughly, I should stay no longer in his house; I innocently answered, I could not help it if it must be so, as all I could do would not give him content, without hurting my conscience, and the peace of my mind, which I valued above all mutable things of this world. My poor mother heard my pleading with him, and how I offered to do the best for him I was capable of by night or day, (as I always had done) if he would be easy, and let me have his countenance; but this was the sentence, No I should not stay in the house: and indeed that troubled my poor mother so, that I was forced to leave my father, and go to endeavour to mitigate her great trouble by telling her, that if I was but faithful, the Lord, I believed, would take care of me that I should not want: and the more fully to discharge myself, I reminded her, that as she had entered into marriage covenants with her husband, she should endeavour to perform them, and in every thing faithfully to discharge herself as a wife ought to do to a husband, and leave me and all, and cleave to him, and to make her life as easy as she could; I also told her, never to send me any thing that my father knew not of, for I was not free to *receive it;* although what we had was in his *hand, and all* sunk there, as I mentioned before.

I write this partly, that all who do marry, may take special heed that it be done with great caution, and under due consideration, and the Lord sought to in it, that it may be done in his counsel, and not only nominally, but truly *in his fear*, and then no doubt but it will be well with both husband and wife: and being equally yoked, such will not only be meet and true helpers in all things belonging to this life, but more especially in things appertaining to the world that is to come, and the good of the immortal soul, which to the faithful people of the Lord is of great value. Oh! how happily and peaceably do such live together in the Lord, as they keep to that which thus joined them: there is more in it, both as to the parents and their posterity, than it is to be feared many consider or think of, as is but too apparent in the many forward and unequal marriages which I have made observation of.

One remarkable passage occurs to my thoughts, which happened thus: My father having been at the Presbyterian meeting, and come home, he, as his manner was, put me or my brother upon reading the priest's text, which had been that day in Daniel, concerning his being cast into the den of lions, for his not regarding *the king's* decree, but on the contrary, *prayed to the God* of heaven with his windows *open toward Jerusalem*, after his wonted man-

ner. My father made his observations
brother read, and very much magnified D
and said, the spirit of God was in him, bu
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deeply suffered for; from whence I in
there was somewhat of the spirit of God

in these days as there was in Daniel, and many more formerly, which helped and bore them up in their great sufferings. Now my father confessed, it was true some suffered for good, and some for evil; and withal said, he had now lived to the age of about sixty-five years, and although he heard us telling of a principle, or light within, yet he knew not what it was. I replied very meekly, If he would hear me I would tell him what it was; which I did in the words following: "When at any time thou hast been under a temptation to put forth thy hand to steal, or lie for advantage, or by provocation to swear, or any evil work or word, hast not thou found something in thee, that hath shewed thee thou oughtest not to have said or done so? which if thou hadst taken heed to, and not said or done wrong, hast thou not found great peace and inward comfort in thy mind? But if thou hast said or done wrong, hast thou not found great disquietness and trouble of mind? This is the inward principle, light, or grace, that God hath placed in man to help and direct him, which we the people of God called Quakers, do hold agreeable to the Holy Scriptures." My father smote his hands together, and confessed it was true.

But that I was not willing to break in upon *his story, but keep* it entire, there was one *ing worthy of* notice, which I now come to

wishing it may be duly considered by all who read or hear it. When I mentioned Marmaduke Stephenson, that good man, and great sufferer in the cause of Christ, as before, my mother said, it was true; for she lived a servant with Edward Wilberfoss, an honest Quaker in Skipton, where Marmaduke Stephenson was a day-labourer, about the time he had his call to go to New-England. See the account of New-England judged, not by man as man, but by the spirit of the living God, written by George Bishop. If I remember right she said, He was such a man as she never knew, for his very countenance was a terror to them, and he had a great check upon all the family; if at any time any of the servants had been wild, or any way out of the truth, if they did but see him, or hear him coming, they were struck with fear, and were all quiet and still: and if but one of the children came into the house where he laboured, and he would not have it to come, these were his words *Go thy way; or Go home, lest I whip thee;* and they were subject and quiet. This ample and excellent account, I thought had some reach upon my father, however, it much affected my mind. Oh! that we *the professors* of the same holy truth, may so *live in it, as to reign* over every wrong thing in *ourselves, and* also in others, but especially in *our children.*

Some little time before the marriage of my mother, I was brought into the public work of the ministry, concerning which I had many reasonings, being young, scarce eighteen years old, and naturally of a stammering tongue, which I could not overcome, although I had used what endeavours lay in my power as a man, considering my years and education, all would not do until the truth helped me: but after many conflicts, great troubles, and temptations, the worst I ever met with, and the most piercing sorrow I ever yet had been in since I came to the knowledge of the blessed truth was, when through reasonings, disobedience, and unwillingness to comply with, and answer the Lord's requirings, he in displeasure took away from me the comfort of his holy presence for several months together. Oh! the tribulations and penetrating troubles I met withal in this condition, no tongue is able to express, no nor the heart of any finite creature is able to conceive the depth of the anxiety of the heart-piercing and wounding sorrows I was in; I thought my state was as bad as Jonah's, for surely if there be a hell upon earth, I was in it: what greater hell can be here to a quickened soul, and an enlightened understanding, who hath tasted of the *goodness of God*, and of the powers, in a *degree, of the* world to come, then to be *deprived thereof*, and think they are fallen

away from this state? I could scarcely believe I should ever have repentance granted to me, or be restored again into the love and favour of God, when I found that river of life dried up, as to me which did before not only make me, but even all the whole city of God, truly glad: but being left under an apprehension of the Lord's displeasure, and in part a partaker of the terrors of his wrath, oh! I thought surely the very mountains and even the hills, were not sufficient (if they could have been put into the scales or balance) to have weighed against my troubles and afflictions they were so great; but as the Lord had by his judgments brought me in a good degree from the vice and vanity of this world, now by his judgments he made me willing to give up to answer his requirings in part, and in my obedience to him I began to feel some comfort of love and fellowship of the Spirit of the Lord in myself, and in his people, who were brought to be partakers of the like fellowship.

Now I return to the matter about my being turned out of my father's house, which I mentioned before, but was willing to keep this solemn account entire, with desires it may be a caution to all, in whom the Lord is at work in the same manner, not to reason or gainsay so much as I did, but to give up freely and cheerfully to the will of God. When I saw I must turn out, I thought it expedient to acquaint some

worthy friends with it, lest any undue reflections should be cast upon the truth, or friends, or myself, that if so, these friends might be able to contradict them; so I acquainted Sebastian Ellethorp, and that worthy man and minister of the gospel Benjamin Padley, two of the chief friends in Ellington monthly meeting, and they came to my father's house, and when they came, they began to inquire about the reasons why I went away; and, if my father had any thing against me concerning the business he employed me in; and, whether I was not faithful and diligent in all his affairs he sent me about: he confessed, I was; and thought none could exceed me. They said, "Well then, what is the reason of that misunderstanding which is betwixt thee and thy son-in-law? Is it about his going to meetings?" When they undersood his reasons, which were not hard to do, they expressed a pity towards me that I could have no more liberty; and they thought, as I was so dilligent in his business, if he would give me a little more liberty to go to meetings, it would be more encouragement to me. At which he took offence, and gave the good men rough language, and asked, what *they had to do with* him and his son; and bid *them go home*, and mind their own business; *which they were* much troubled at, especially

for my sake, and much pitied me, and wondered how I had lived with him so long; for he said in short, that there was no abiding for me there. But Sebastian Ellethorp told me, which was mightily to my comfort, that my father had nothing against me, save that concerning the law of my God. This is the sense, if not the words, of these wise and good men, which passed betwixt them and my father, as they expressed them to me; for I was not there when they were together.

Notwithstanding I pleaded with my father to let me stay until I could hear of a place, he would not, though I was scarce fit for service, being almost like an *anotomy* (as the saying is) so that most who knew me, said, *I would pine away in a consumption;* but turn out I must, and did, though I was weak, poor and low in body, mind, pocket, and cloaths; for I think I had but twelve-pence in my pocket, and very ordinary cloaths upon my back. Thus I took my solemn leave of the family, with my heart full, but I kept inward to the Lord, and under truth's government; many tears were shed in the family, especially by my poor mother, when I left them; my father said little, but appeared like one struck with wonder, to see so much *love manifested* towards me by the family, and *so much wishing* that I might not go away: *but out I* came upon the great common afore-

mentioned, where I had had many solitary walks, but none like this, for this reason that I knew not where to go. I then thought of Abraham, who was called out of Ur in the land of the Chaldeans, as it is briefly mentioned by Stephen; but this was the difference betwixt us, he was *called*, I was *forced out*. But as I was walking upon the common, the sense of my weak condition, not knowing whither to go, nor where to lay my head, although I had many friends, yet I could not be free to go to them, unless I had known they had business for me, being not of a forward, but rather backward, and shy disposition: I say, the sense and weight of my condition came over me to that degree, that it appeared to me as though my way was hedged up on every side, inwardly and outwardly; I even thought myself like a pelican in the wilderness, or as an owl in the desert, there appearing to me scarce a man in all the earth in my condition, every way considered; and in the sense and deep consideration of my present wilderness state, I felt myself under a great oppression of spirit, and my heart seemed full, like a bottle that wanted vent: I looked round about me to see that none were near to see my tears, nor hear my cries, and *in the* very anguish and bitterness of *my soul I poured* forth my complaints, cries *and tears, to the* Judge of all the earth, who

spoke to me and comforted me in this my deplorable state, which was worse than Jacob's when he lay upon the ground, and had a stone for his pillow; he had his near kindred to go to, who he might expect would receive him gladly, but I had none to go to but such as rather reviled me, and gave me hard language; but the Lord said unto me, as if a man had spoke, "First seek the kingdom of heaven, and the righteousness thereof, and all these things that thou standest in need of shall be given unto thee." I then desired he would be pleased to shew me the place I should go to; and the Lord opened my way, and shewed me the house I should go to, and abide in for a time. I said, "Good is the word of the Lord:" I believed, and it was a great means to stay my mind, and settle it in the truth, with full purpose of heart to follow the Lord, and obey his requirings, according to the knowledge and ability given me; yet reasonings attended me; two things especially stood much in my way, yea, three things were a lett to me, for soon after I came to the friend's house in South-Cliff, viz. William Allon, by name, I bound myself to him to learn his trade of a weaver, and after I was bound, I found this good man loved me, and I loved him to the day of his death; and he often said, he *was blessed for my* sake, and all that appertained *unto him; for* when I went to him he was

very poor, but he increased very considerably after I went to live with him.

I come now to the particulars which stood in my way of answering the Lord's commands so fully as sometimes I should have done; first, a violent humour fell into one of my legs soon after I was bound apprentice, which I with others thought was much occasioned by hard usage, heat and colds, and many surfeits, even from my infancy; which lameness held me about two years, and I suffered much by the said leg, and it much discouraged and disabled me. The second hindrance was, my low circumstances in the world, which very few knew of, because the common fame was, (and not without some truth) that I had rich parents. I have given an account already how they were circumstanced, and so I leave them at present, and proceed: but few knew the straits I met withal; yet my truly religious master, if he understood any thing was upon my mind to go to visit any meeting, or meetings, he would say, "Take my mare and go thy way, and be not uneasy, neither about the mare nor business; nor do not hasten thyself." These kindnesses made me often thoughtful how I might return suitable acknowledgments, and be duly grateful for the same: I was diligent in my *master's business*, not serving him with eye-*service, but faithfully*; believing it good and *acceptable in the sight of God*, and I had gre

peace in it; my master never found fault with me for doing too little, but often for doing too much, and would sometimes say, "I think thou wilt cleave to the beam; come off and let us walk into the fields and see how things are there." Now as to the third hinderance, the account of which I was not willing to have interwoven with matters of less moment, although the healing of my very sore leg, I attribute to the great and good Providence of God; for in a short time after I gave up freely and cheerfully to answer the Lord's requirings, the Lord healed me of my lameness; and when I cried unto him, that he would also heal my tongue of its stammering, believing that the Lord was able to take away the impediment of my tongue, as he was to stop the violence of that humour which had attended my body, and had a recourse to my leg, and made it sore, from above the ancle to the knee: and notwithstanding several men had given their advice, and had shewed their skill, it all proved ineffectual, until I came to believe in Jesus Christ, and to press through all to him, and to touch the skirt, or lowest appearance of his blessed truth and power, in which I found true healing virtue to my soul, and also to my body, and to my tongue, even to my admiration; so that I did not only speak plain in the testimony the Lord gave me to bear, *but also spoke plain in my common intercourse with men.*

I was likewise in these days under the dispensations of openings and visions, and thought myself as it were upon Mount Pisgah, and saw into the holy land, and into things relating to God and his heavenly kingdom, and into his work and way of bringing man out of the fall and alienation to himself again, and into a heavenly state in Christ, as man yields true obedience unto the leadings and operation of his blessed Grace and Holy Spirit in the heart. But under such dispensations it is requisite, yea, of absolute necessity, that man be brought into true self-denial, as also into a depending frame of mind, and true resignation of will to the will of God, and a daily sitting as in the dust, as to the motions and workings of the creature as such; for all that is of man's working, or work, does but lett or hinder the spiritual work of God in the heart; and we must come truly to know all fleshly motions, and the workings in man's own will and spirit, to be silenced, to hear the voice of God, which is a still small voice, and not to be heard in the noise and hurries of the world; neither when the mind is busied with things agreeable to our own corrupt wills and depraved nature.

But although at times I had clear sights into many heavenly things, and also had at times *comfortable enjoyments of the living presence of God, yet I wanted to be more established in the unchangeable truth, which I had at time*

some comfortable feeling of; and in crying to the Lord, I found he inclined unto me, and, as David said, "he heard my cries, and plucked my feet out of the mire and clay, and set them upon a rock" that was higher than I, and in part, "established my goings, and put a new song into my mouth, even high praises unto the Lord" for all his tender mercies to me in these trying times; and now being more crucified to the world, and the spirit of it, I witnessed a more constant indwelling of heavenly power and living presence, light, and grace; I came to be brought into stillness, and it became most agreeable to my condition to keep much in silence, and wait upon the Lord for the renewing of strength, that thereby I might surmount all temptations and trials that might fall in my way, or which I might be tried with, which were not a few.

Now these things before recited, are worthy of commemoration, and proved great confirmations to me in the truth, in these days of my tribulations and great trials: read and believe, thou that canst, for they are faithful and true sayings. After the Lord had healed me, he sent me forth in the work of the ministry, and the first journey I took southward was into *Lincolnshire*, Nottinghamshire, and through *Coventry, and so to* Warrick, to see William *Dewsberry*. One thing is remarkable upon

William's inquiry, what way I came: In my account of the particular towns and places I had passed through, I mentioned Coventry, which was the last and the worst; for some of the rude people flung stones at me, with great violence, as I was speaking in the meeting, so that had the Lord suffered them to have hit me, they must have spoiled me; but my faith in the Lord, and the strength of the truth, bore up my mind above fear of the outward man, or what wicked men could do to me. After William had heard my account, he fixed his eyes on me, and said, "Thou must go back again to Coventry." I appeared unwilling, for two reasons: *first*, because I thought I had cleared myself of that people: *secondly*, I thought it not safe, to run myself into danger of suffering, unless I was satisfied the Lord required it of me. But William was positive, and said, I must go, for there was a service for me to do there. Upon a deliberate consideration of the matter, and a seeking to the Lord to know his will in it, I found my way clear to go, and I had some service and good satisfaction, and left friends nearer to one another than when I first met with them; for there had been a misunderstanding amongst some friends in that city: so I came *from* thence to Tamworth, where *there was a difference*, especially betwixt two *friends; both of* them had been such as had

made some considerable figure among friends: I felt it upon me to go to the man, to warn him of the spirit of prejudice and envy, for if he gave way to it, it would eat out his love to friends and truth, and he would decline meetings, and come to nought, and turn his back on the truth; which came to be fulfilled, as I afterwards heard; for he became a loose man, and listed himself to be a soldier. I was zealous for the name of the Lord, and had a great concern upon my mind for the promulgation of the truth, and where I met with loose professors of the truth, it was a great exercise to me.

When I returned home from this, and indeed from all my journeys, I took care what I well could, so far as my weak body was capable, to fall into business, and not loiter away my time, neither abroad nor at home. My weak constitution would not well bear the weaving trade, therefore I left it much against my will; but I wrought upon clock and watch work, and many other things, which supplied my necessities, the Lord allowing me as much time at home as put me in a condition reasonably fit for travel, and then I was inclined to go to visit friends. Many things I omit, because I am not willing to swell my account too much. I *travelled through* most parts of England four *times, and twice* through most part of Wales,

between the twentieth and twenty-eighth year of my age.

After the Lord had opened my heart, and I came in part to understand the Holy Scriptures, and to have a feeling of that Holy Spirit in which the holy penmen wrote them, and a sympathy with the spirits and exercises of the righteous therein mentioned, I took great delight in reading them, and having a good memory, could thereby the better deal with priests, and with professors. I had many disputes and reasonings with priests and professors, of several denominations, both in Yorkshire and other parts in my travels, so that through these disputes, and much reading, my mind was rather too much in the letter, and not altogether so much in spirit, and in power, as it should have been; for which I met with a gentle caution from the Lord, which was thus: I heard a voice, from the Lord, as plain as if one had spoke to my outward ear, *The fowls of the air lodge in the branches.* This being repeated to me, I besought the Lord to shew me what was the meaning of that voice which I heard; and the Lord, the mighty God, shewed me, in his condescending love, that the Scriptures, even all of them which were written as the holy men were moved of the Holy Ghost, sprung from the living root; yet those who rested only in the letter, and came not to be acquainted with, and live in, and minister from the same Holy Spirit, are out

ward, dead, dry, airy, and foolish. This gentle check was of great service to me; not so as to make me decline reading the scriptures, but that I should not have overmuch dependency on them; and to caution me against the neglect of waiting for the help of the Holy Spirit, the root and pure spring of the right and living ministry, which reaches the heart and carries the true evidence with it to the believers, that it is of God; which that of the letter cannot do of itself. I tenderly desire that all concerned in this great work of the ministry, may not be ministers of the letter only, but of the spirit also, and may speak in the demonstration of the spirit and of power. And "let him that speaketh, speak as the oracle of God, and he that ministereth, do it as of the ability that God giveth." This is the last and lasting ministry, which is after the order of Melchisedeck, and not after the order of Aaron, but in Jesus Christ, the High-Priest, the one Offering, which makes perfect for ever all who come to him through the drawings of the Father; he is the *one Lord*, and there is but *one true faith* in him, and but *one true* and *saving baptism* into him, or into the likeness of his death; so *as Christ died for sin*, we may truly *die to sin*; and *as he was raised by the glory of the Father*, so we *may walk in newness of life*; the heavenly *high-priest, holy*, harmless, separate from sinners; *and such a high-priest* who was tempted

and knows how to succour such as are tempted; he is the *Advocate* with the Father, the *Propitiation* for the sins of all, the true *Guide* and *Comforter*, the *Leader* of them into all truth who obey and follow him; although to the world a *Reprover* and a *swift Witness* against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men.

My writing thus, from this gentle check, concerning the *fowls* and the *branches*, &c. is not with, the least intention either to lessen the Holy Scriptures, or discourage any from reading them; for I would have all true Christians encouraged to be more conversant in them; yet with this advice, kind reader, from thy well-wisher and true friend, to breathe to, and truly seek after the Lord for a measure of his holy and blessed Spirit, the only key and best expositor to open and truly expound them to thee, as by the same Holy Spirit, thy mind and understanding comes to be fitted and enlightened; and indeed, the whole vessel must be brought into a preparation to hold the heavenly treasure, and not to mix the pure with the corrupt and impure, for without this enlightening, preparing, opening and sanctifying gift of God's holy grace and spirit, man can neither know the heavenly power of God, nor yet the Holy Scriptures aright, as he ought to *know them; and for* this reason it hath seemed *good to God* to hide these things from the learned, wise, and prudent of this world, that the

should not pry into, nor find out the mysteries contained therein, unless they are sanctified, and called of God thereto; and as no man knows the things of a man, save the spirit of a man that is in him; likewise the things of God are not perceivable by man, without the help of the Holy Spirit of God in man.

Thus the Lord opened to me the true meaning of the parable of the mustard-seed, in this the time of my infancy as to the ministry, with which he sent me forth into the world, that my faith might stand in the Lord alone, the author and finisher, as well as giver of the true and saving faith, even that faith which works by love, and gives victory over the world; it was by and through the power, virtue and efficacy of true faith, which is the gift of God, that the elders in former ages obtained, and now do obtain a good report; it was in and through this gift, that worthy Abel with his offering was accepted of God, although he was envied of his earthly and evil-minded brother Cain, and also by him slain. The ever memorable Enoch, through the virtue of this holy gift, walked with God, as himself gave witness that Enoch pleased him; he walked so in faith and obedience even to the end, that he died *not as men in* common do, but was translated, *or changed in a peculiar* manner. Come, read, *thou that canst, and* understand, thou that art

redeemed out of, and hast overcome, the flesh and the power or the first nature, the world and the devil, in a great measure, for thou knowest that it is by the operation of this gift that the dead in old Adam are raised to a new life, and way of living in the new man; and through this heavenly Adam, that is known to these to be a quickening spirit, agreeable to holy writ. Through faith the violence of fire was quenched, the mouths of lions have been stopped, the sword turned backward, the armies put to flight, even such as were aliens or strangers, who outwardly fought against the Lord's people; which sets before us, as in a glass, how and what we are to overcome in this gospel-day, in which we are not to fight with men, but with our lusts, and overcome sin and satan; which is as great a victory as he obtained that overcame the rampant lions, who had dominion over the wicked, as sin and satan have power and dominion over the wicked and ungodly to this day. Consider now in time, thou that readest these lines, whether Christ or antichrist doth predominate in thee; whether grace or sin most abound in thy mortal body; whether the spirit of truth, that leads into all truth, or the spirit of error, that leads into all error and untruth, is the most *prevalent, and hath* the greatest place in thy *heart: for to him* whom thou art the most subject, *and yields* thy members servants to, h

servant thou art, and to him thou givest way and subjects thyself, and his servant thou wilt altogether come to be in time, and the wages due to his servants thou shalt have given to thee at the end of thy work: therefore consider in due time, while the day of thy visitation is continued unto thee, and the Lord is following and calling by his secret and inward checks and reproof, by which he disquiets thy mind, that although thou mayest take some pleasure in vanity and wrong ways, when thou canst get over the just witness of God in thy own soul, yet while it strives with thee to convert and gather thee up out of earthly and fading pleasures, to have thy mind set upon heavenly things, and take pleasure in them, thou wilt have no solid comfort in all thy lower enjoyments, but condemnation and anguish of soul will attend thee, until thou either gets over the witness, or leaves the evil. This is the experience of the Lord's people, who have been acquainted with the true and inward warfare, and also with the saint's victory. Read and learn to follow Christ by the footsteps of the flocks of his companions; although it be through great tribulations, yet it is the way to have thy garments washed and made white *in the mistical* blood of the immaculate Lamb *of God: This is he*, as John the Baptist said, *"that taketh away* the sins of the world." Hap*y is every one that* truly puteth on his lambli

nature, his humility, righteousness, and purity, and is covered with his Holy Spirit, and lives and walks in and under the influence and conduct thereof to the end of time here, until we enter into immutability.

Now to return from this digression to the historical part: When I had travelled much of the time between my going forth, which was from about the nineteenth year of my age unto about the twenty-seventh, then finding some little respite from the weight of that service, I inclined to settle a little closer to business, but had little to begin any calling with, being necessitated to leave my trade of weaving through lameness, as before mentioned; and I had been a sojourner some time at Whitby, Scarborough, and Bridlington; but upon seeking unto the Lord to know what place I might now settle in, though my great inclination was for Whitby, yet it sounded in my ear, Bridlington, Bridlington is the place to settle in; and in the cross I repaired thither, and settled for some time, keeping a little shop, and mending clocks and watches, as I had done for several years past at times; it was of good service my settling there, for the Lord began to work mightily, especially amongst the young friends, so that in a few years many had their mouths opened in testimony for the Lord, and a fine spring of heavenly ministry was in that monthly-meeting, the like I have n

known in the like bounds, (for it is but a s
monthly-meeting) and hath been so ever sin
knew it; for truth did so nightily prosper,
friends grew so in the ministry, that it becai
proverb, that BRIDLINGTON was become a se
of prophets. This mighty work of the Lor
these days, is worthy to be chronicled
remembered among his many worthy and n
acts; we had many heavenly and good meeti
praised and renowned be the worthy name o
Lord, now and for ever.

We had but little discipline when I first
tled in that place, but afterwards many fri
hearts were stirred up in a holy zeal for
Lord, not only to promote meetings for wors
but also for good discipline in the church,
they began to see a necessity of coming up n
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truth, its testimony, and the discipline thereof in those parts.

I had now travelled and laboured much in the Lord's work at home and abroad for about ten years, but had not in all that time found my way clear to marry, although not without some like opportunity, and with such as were a great deal richer than she was whom I did marry; but I was afraid in this weighty affair to miss my way, knowing the great difference there is between them who only profess, and they who possess the truth; and them that are only in the first nature and unregenerated state, (and strictly speaking, but the sons and daughters of men) and such who are born again, not of flesh and blood, nor indeed of any thing that is corruptible, but of that incorruptible seed and living word of God which leads into a lively hope, and brings forth a new and heavenly birth in man, that takes delight to please and obey the Lord in all things, and so become sons, or children of God, in a more spiritual and nearer relation than that of creation only; it is in and through this great work of renovation, and being born again: and, as such as live up to that holy seed and regenerating principle, and as the same doth predominate *and rule in man*, in this state man cannot sin, *as the apostle said*, with this reason annexed, *because his seed* (to wit, the seed of God

remaineth in him: thus walking in the light, and living in the seed, grace, and holy spirit, although the terms of it differ, the virtue and nature of it are undividable; such who come to be gathered to walk with, and truly love Christ, the bridegroom of the soul, are brought into a greater nearness, truer sympathy, and unity of spirit, than the world knows of. Read this, you that are born again, and duly consider it in its proper time and place. I believe, and therefore truly speak it, the Lord gave me such a wife as really feared him, loved truth and righteousness, and all such as she thought loved and especially such as lived in the truth; her name was Priscilla Canaby, daughter of James Canaby; she was descended of an honest family in the east part of Yorkshire, the only child her parents left; they were bakers by trade, and gave her a commendable education, though they did not leave her any great portion; she was under the care of her uncle, Charles Canaby, of Bridlington, an honest friend, who left something behind him in manuscript concerning his convicement of the truth, and sufferings for the same; he was convinced early, lived to a great age, and was a man of great service in those parts where he lived.

I was in the twenty-eighth year of my age *when I married* my wife, who was a woman of *an excellent* temper, very affectionate, sober and

prudent, loved retirement much, and waiting upon the Lord, and the enjoyment of his internal and living presence, and especially with the Lord's people, that they might also be made partakers with her of the like special favours; this was as her crown and kingdom while in this world, even from her childhood; and to see friends prosper in the truth was matter of great rejoicing to her. When we had been married scarce three years, the Lord raised her up to bear a public testimony amongst friends in their meetings, which was very comfortable and acceptable to them; and also she had the spirit of grace and supplication, measurably poured upon her, so that many with me did believe she had access to the throne of God, and to that river which maketh truly glad the city of God. She always freely gave me up to answer the service I believed the Lord called for of me. She was taken from me when we had been married about five years, in the twenty-eighth year of her age, and died in a sweet frame of mind and was sensible to the last, and her last words were, "he is come, he is come, whom my soul loves; and my soul rejoices in God my Saviour, and my spirit magnifies him;" and so passed away like a lamb, I believe into a *mansion of glory*, where her innocent soul *shall for ever sing* halleujah to the Lord God and the *Lamb*, who is worthy of glory

honour, salvation, and strength now and for ever.

I might enlarge much upon the virtue and worthiness of faithful Priscilla, but in this, as in other matters, it is my desire to avoid prolixity, yet would take notice of the most remarkable occurrences that have happened to me in the course of this my earthly pilgrimage; also, I have been much pressed by some, and not of the least of my faithful brethren; likewise, I believed it to be my duty, to leave some remains to posterity for their encouragement and comfort in the way and work of the Lord.

I had many deep and heavenly openings, some of which it may not be amiss to mention here, inasmuch as I had now a more clear sight into a translated state than ever I had before; I came, through a divine sense and participation, to have great sympathy and dear unity, not only with the ever memorable Enoch, whose walking was such as the Lord gave testimony or witness to, that he pleased him: the ground of which witness was from hence, he lived near, and loved God, and walked in the ways of virtue, and abhorred vice: but also with the apostle, having this seal, that God knoweth who are *his: and* with some other of the servants of *Christ in former* ages who could say, as some *now can say,* (from true experience) that the

Spirit of the Lord beareth witness with our spirits, that we are his, to wit, the Lord's children, so long as we do well; which last words are of large extent, to do well, think well, speak well, and believe well; for he that hath no faith, or that believes ill, cannot do well; he that eats, drinks, or wears that which he knows he ought not, doth not well; but what is done well, is done in a pure mind and clean conscience, for so is true faith held, and all acceptable work to God performed. I had great openings into the removal of Moses, and taking up of Elijah, that great and worthy prophet, from the earth into heaven, and I have seen things not fit to be uttered; neither can the world yet believe them; and I saw far into the mystery of the transfiguration of Christ, and appearance of Moses and Elias with him upon the mount; and the voice which was heard from the excellent glory, "This is my beloved Son, hear him;" not Moses nor Elias in comparison of him, for the law pointed to him, and was as a school-master to bring to him. The holy prohets foresaw and prophesied of his coming, and John the Baptist saw Christ, and baptized him, and bore witness of him as the light, and said, "Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world;" he also said, "He is the bridegroom that *hath the* bride," (the church;) he spoke of

his own decrease, and unworthiness in comparison of Christ, though called by Christ himself, as great a prophet as was ever born of a woman, and he was also called Elias, which must first come, and is already come in respect of power, knowledge, boldness, and faithfulness; he was as Elias, yet the least in the kingdom of Christ was greater than he, because the power and glorious kingdom and gospel-dispensation was not fully brought in (and restored to Israel, or those who should believe in him) until his ascention; but now these great agents in these foregoing dispensations all passed away, with their figurative, prophetical, and elementary dispensations, and gave place to the Son and Heir of all things, the Messiah, the great Prophet, Bishop, Shepherd, King, and Law-giver.

Now read these things, and learn truly to understand how Moses past away, and Elias past away, and Christ is left, who is able alone to perfect the work of man's redemption, who trod the wine-press alone, and amongst all the sons of men, none were with him or helped him; he came who was the antitype of all types gone before: he, Christ, is come to remove the covenant made before, because of the weakness and imperfection thereof; which covenant made not the comers thereto perfect, but the better *hope brought* in by Christ did. So this cove*nant is* abundantly more excellent which was

brought in by Christ, and settled and established upon better promises than that was or could be, by the blood of bulls, goats, and the ashes of an heifer, which reached the outside only; but in the second or new covenant, there is the blood which sprinkleth the heart from an evil conscience, so that such may be fitted and qualified to serve the living God, not in the works of the old covenant, but in the newness of the Holy Spirit: This is he that, as to his divinity and eternity, was before the hills were settled, and the seas and foundations were made, that took delight to dwell with the sons of men, or in the habitable parts of the earth; as he was a spirit, or word uncreated, he dwelt measureably in Abel, Seth, Enoch, and Noah, before the flood; for by his spirit God strove with the old world to reclaim them from their wickedness, when it was great; it was by this spirit Noah was made a preacher of righteousness, and instructed how to build the ark; this is he who was with Shem and Japhet, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph, and all the faithful fathers after the flood, the foundation of all the righteous, prophets, apostles, and martyrs, such as loved and believed in him, and suffered for his name's sake, and the testimony which they held. This *is he* that despised the glory of *this world, and is* lifted up as a standard to the *people, and an ensign* to the nations; unto him

shall the Gentiles seek, and his rest sh
glorious; he hath lifted up a greater rod
that of Moses, sometimes called the rod of
by which he hath, and I believe, will br
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overthrew the Egyptians, and brought
Israel by a strong hand, and an outstre
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his people, and spared them in the time
great slaughter, which was executed both
man and beast, to wit, the first-born in E
then he became Israel's passover. Read
things (that were typically done, and in a
ward way) inwardly, and in thine own e
ence, that thou mayest say, and that
Christ is my Passover, after he hath
gated thy sore bondage, and in degree
given thee faith in his great name, and
caused thee to love him and made thee w
to follow him, although it be through the
troubles, and sometimes as through the w
ness. Here is an eating of the heavenly
over, or Paschal Lamb, under the influe
the pure love of God, that is spread or dis
ed over the soul like a canopy, or banner
is the heavenly manna, the true body

on, that yields true nourishment and solid comfort to thy soul, in this thy travel towards the heavenly country; here is the substance of the scape goat known, that beareth away the sins of the people, for he bore our iniquities, and through his stripes we were healed; on his part there wants nothing, but on man's, faith in, and obedience to Christ; he is the substance or antitype of the brazen serpent, which was lifted up in the wilderness to cure the people's ailments, occasioned by the serpents; he is the advocate with the Father, as John said, to encourage little children in that time, which I think may very well be applied to all in that state until time here shall be no more. Happy is every one that heareth, obeyeth, and reverenceth the Son and Heir of all things, in his spiritual appearance in the heart, where he speaks to the conditions of the children of men, "as never man spoke," and to much better purpose than ever man could do; this is he that spoke to the fathers by the prophets, who in these times doth speak to us in or by his spirit; so take heed to his spiritual appearance in the heart, for there must the work of our salvation be perfected, after sin is purged out, and the guilt thereof taken away; to such death is easy, where sin, the sting of death, is taken away, *having a part in* Christ, the first-born of many *brethren, and* resurrection from the dead; I

say, having a part in him that is the resurrection indeed, and the life; over such the second death (which is a perpetual separation from the heavenly presence of God, and company of holy angels) shall have no power. I now leave, I think, this not unprofitable digression, and return to the more historical part, where one thing, I think, is worthy of inserting here, viz.

In my young years, I was very much afflicted in my travels, upon taking cold, with a sore throat, that I could scarce speak so as to be heard, and had much trouble at times to swallow any thing which nature did require; and in one journey northward, in truth's service, coming to Hawkshead, and sitting in the meeting under no small exercise with the trouble aforesaid, not without some reasonings and conflicts of spirit, having left all, as I believed, to do what the Lord required of me, and yet I apprehended myself, by means of this affliction, not likely to be of any service; and after some reasonings, and a fervent seeking to the Lord to know the cause of this great trouble, and withal to bring my mind to a true resignation to the will of God in this, and in all the trials the Lord might see good in his wisdom to exercise me in; I had not been long brought into this devoted and resigned state to be and do what the Lord *would have me do*, but oh! I felt of the virtue of *Christ, as a sweet* and living spring, by which I

was healed; I was, and am to this day, (when I remember the Lord's kind dealings with me) very thankful to him.

It has been frequently observable, that the Lord leads his servants through many states, that they, having the experience thereof may be the more capable of helping others in the like straits; it is an excellent thing to love and truly believe in Jesus Christ, and keep self down as in the dust for ever.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF MY

FIRST VISIT TO FRIENDS

IN

AMERICA.

Now the time came on for my going into America, having had a sight of it about ten years before; I also acquainted my wife therewith about a year before she died, and I found it was likely to be a very near trial to her; she was a virtuous good woman, but was taken away, and left me three small children, the eldest not above four years old, the youngest not much above one month old, and I having but little of this world, reasoned much about going, thinking my circumstances at present might excuse me: my intentions were good in it, that *I might not* leave things any way to the dis*honour of the truth*: my innocent young child *was taken away* when about a year old; and

soon after, wherever I went, while I was awake, it sounded in my ears several days and nights, *Now is the time, Now is the time,* My other two children, Providence so ordered it, that they were placed to mine and friends satisfaction; I went through many provings that no man knew of, but I believe, when I am gathered to my place, I shall leave many brethren behind me yet in mutability, that will read my lines in their own experience. I would not have any to misunderstand me, for as to my outward circumstances, I left no debt, neither was I in a way of going backward in the world; for ever after I received the knowledge of the truth, I could not see what pretence I could have to religion, if any should lose by me; I have often said, and been hearty in my intentions, that rather than truth should suffer on that score, I would live upon bread and water, and wear very mean clothes, and work very hard if I were able, and upon any mean, but lawful calling. It hath been matter of wonder to me, how any that appear to carry any pretensions to religion, dare run such great ventures, sometimes beyond their own bottoms or abilities; which to me hath always appeared an unwarrantable risk; and, as I apprehend, pride, and ostentation is much *the occasion* of it, which are much *against truth*, and men are no better for their *greatness*, for the more plain, and the more

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humble we are, the more we resemble humble Jesus, and his religion, which he laboured to inculcate. If any are lifted up, or aspire above their place, let them consider well the foregoing paragraph.

Now I must leave my children, and my very near friends, and my native country and all for Christ and the gospel's sake, without any sinister end or view; and then I appealed to the Lord, in the simplicity of my heart, That he knew I was willing to be at his disposal, and what he had favoured me with, I could leave to him; yet whether what I had was sufficient to defray mine and my two little ones' necessary charges, was somewhat in my way; and to satisfy me in this doubt, the Lord's voice sounded exceeding clear to that sensation I was then endued with, saying, *Go, and be faithful, and I will bless thee every way.* Oh! my heart seemed to me to melt, and my spirit to dissolve within me, and I said, "good is the word of the Lord, thou hast not failed me in any of my great straits and trials to this day; I have great cause to trust in thee; renowned be thy most excellent name, now and for ever."

I parted with my friends with much brokenness of heart, and set forwards on my journey *towards* London, in order to take shipping *there, the 11th* of the eighth month, 1700; and *when I, with my* companions, Thomas Thomp-

son, Josiah Langdale, and John Estaugh, with some other friends, went on board a ship in the river Thames, we had not been long there, and having considered our freedom about going in the ship, it opened clearly in my mind, in the light, that I must not go in that vessel; and I said to the friends, I could not go in her, for I saw nothing but death and darkness there. The account of what afterwards happened to the ship I had from two particular friends, in two several letters from London into America, wherein they expressed a thankfulness for our deliverance, and magnified that hand which wrought it, and preserved us from going in that ship, which was lost near the islands of either Jersey or Guernsey, and, as it was said, about seventy people were drowned.

Peradventure I may mention some things that may appear to be but of little moment, but I have seen a Divine Providence attend terrene affairs, although they may appear of little consequence to some; such as do not duly consider these things, may make a wrong application, and as the course of my travels hath afforded variety of trials and transactions, which are in some things very particular, from whence ariseth variety of accounts, so there hath been a willingness in my mind to favour some who have been desirous of having me to leav a journal of my life, which I have compl

with, as far as I can see my way clear in the truth.

Then we went on board another ship called the ARUNDAL, Splenden Rand master, in which we embarked the 17th of the ninth month, 1700, and after many storms, and much seasickness, not without some conflicts of spirit, more than I am free to express, and a long passage, being near sixteen weeks upon the sea, we arrived in the river Patuxent, in Maryland, as near as I remember, the fifth or sixth of the first month, 1701, and my heart was glad, and filled with acknowledgements and praises to the Lord, for bringing us safe over the mighty waters.

Now we left the ship and master, who was but a churlish, ill-natured man. I was very weak and low when I landed, both in body and mind, but the Lord helped me, and made my journey and labours comfortable to many, as well as to my own soul. After the first or second meeting we were at, John Estaugh being now my companion, as we came near a great house in Maryland, I espied a little white horse, the sight of which put me in mind of a dream I had on board the ship before I landed, in which I *thought I got* a little white horse, which carried *me well*, and many miles; I said to the friends *with me*, *Let* us call here at this house, which *we did*, and upon inquiry about a horse, the man

said, He had none but a little white young galloway, as he called it, which he was willing to sell, and withal told us, it carried him one day forty miles, and asked eight pounds sterling for it, and I bade him five pounds sterling; the man's wife coming up the passage, heard what I had offered, and she said to her husband, It is enough; so I had him, and a good horse he proved, and carried me, by a moderate computation, four thousand miles. I took this, according to the nature of it, to be a singular favour from that great hand which led me forth, and hitherto hath preserved me in the land of the living, to praise his ever worthy name.

Now we set forward towards Virginia and North Carolina, and found great openness in these two provinces, amongst the people, and a tender-hearted remnant of friends scattered abroad in these wilderness countries: although, as I said before, I was brought very low, yet the Lord, in whom I did, and yet do believe and put my trust, raised me, and filled many times my heart with his word and testimony, so that sometimes it went forth as a flame of fire amongst the loose libertines, who were proud and unfaithful, yet professors of the truth; and we had many large and good meetings. *One thing* is worthy of notice; as I was *speaking in a* meeting in Virginia, a sudden stop *came upon* me, and occasioned me to say, "I

cannot go forward, whatsoever the matter may be, I know not;" but giving over immediately, a friend, whose name was Edward Thomas, began to preach, who was but young in the ministry, although an elderly man, and apt to be attended with reasonings; but, as he said after the meeting, he had sought to the Lord with prayers, that he would condescend so far to his request, as to give me a sense of him, and in so doing he would take that as a great strength and confirmation to his ministry, in this the day of his many exercises and great fears; or much to the same effect. Thus we see the Lord in his great mercy condescends to the low, weak, and, as it were, infant states of his children, like a tender father, and being our heavenly high-priest, is touched with the feeling of the infirmities of his people; thanksgiving and honour be given to his most excellent name, now and for ever.

During our stay in Virginia, one remarkable passage occured, which it may not be amiss to insert here, and the case was thus; I being at a friend's house, an ancient widow, in order to go to the meeting, observed as I sat in the house, several persons of note come into the yard (a store-house being near) to make, as appeared *afterwards*, a seizure for rates for the *government and priest*; they not being distinctly *charged, but* a mixed rate, occasions friends

those parts to be straightened about the payment of them: I observing the priest to be there, and appeared very busy, asked, what he was come about: the friend replied, They were come to make distress for the 40lb. per poll, as they phrase it, which is 40 pounds of tobacco, payable for every taxable head, (*i. e.* all above sixteen years old.) There were along with the priest the sheriff and constable for the government, and divers merchants of note as spectators; I understanding the reason of their coming, stepped out to the priest, who seemed a topping brisk man, his temper in this case not unsuitable to his name, which was Sharp; and being come to him, I desired him to be careful how he devoured widows houses; he briskly replied, He did not; to which I as closely returned, That I found he did. He denied my assertion, and said, The government gave him what he demanded and took; to which I gave the following answer: Inasmuch as he did not any thing for the widow, for which he reasonably might require a reward, I believed the government would not insist upon it for him, if he would be willing to drop it, which in common equity I thought he should. The priest, displeased with this modest reply, tartly answered, "*You are no* Christians." I told him, The charge *was high, and* false, and he might more easily *affirm than* prove it; wherefore I put the ques-

tion, and asked him, why we were so charged by him; to which he returned this insignificant answer, That we denied part of the divinity of Christ. I told him, he was a novice, and receeded in his opinion from most of his brethren, seeing it was a general reflection cast on us by most of his fraternity, That we owned the divinity of Christ, but denied his manhood, which was false also; therefore I demanded of him, to prove what part of the divinity of Christ we denied; in which if he failed, I should look upon him as a false accuser, and those present would, I hoped be my witnesses: but he shuffled and declined answering, though I urged him as much as possible; and to cut the matter off, he asked, whence I came. The sheriff bid him give me a verse in Greek; I told them, I mattered not meddling in that, for as the English tongue was best understood by those present, therefore I thouht it would be best to keep to it. I told him I was of old England; but still reminded him of proving his assertion, which I looked for from him; but instead of that, he asked, what part of Old England I came from; I told him Yorkshire; and bid him produce his proofs, as before urged, but he still evading the matter, desired to know from what place; I *told him, I was born* at North Cave; and, [illegible] he, "*I was born* at South Cave, and my fa[illegible] *was minister there* many years, his name

Sharp, and there is but a mile difference betwixt those places:" I said, It was a long one. No sooner was this over, but the priest, transported with my being his countryman, began hugging me to such a degree, that I was quite ashamed of him: when I had, not without some difficulty, got clear of his embraces, I asked him, if he esteemed himself a minister of Christ: he answered, yea, and lawfully called thereto; I told him, if he was a gospel minister, as the gospel was free, so should his ministry be free; and turning to the people there present, I told them, I would not have them deceived, for they might understand he only possessed his place by virtue of a law in that case provided, and his call and ordination was only such as had been transferred upon him for a fee, which made him require pay for what he did, and indeed where he did nothing, which was highly unfair; wherefore they might upon consideration find he was but a minister of the letter, which was dead, and not a minister of the Spirit and Divine Power: from which he offered not to clear himself, though I urged him thereto. Then I asked him, which of those odious characteristicks the false ministers were branded with, and deciphered by in the New Testament, he would clear himself of: which I then enumerated to him. The sheriff said, it was so; and withal said, "Mr. Sharp, answer to

man, for the question is very rational, and you ought to answer him, and for honour-sake clear yourself of those odiums, if you can." But he would not offer to meddle with it; wherefore I told him, to mind for the future, not to charge any man or people with more than he could be sure to prove; for it was highly scandalous. It being now meeting-time, I asked him to go thither; but he refusing, said, he durst not; so we parted.

Having visited friends here, we returned back for Maryland and Pennsylvania, and a great many we found who loved to hear the testimony and doctrines of truth, but too few there were, who took up the cross daily, and followed Christ in the way of self denial, and knew the thorough work of regeneration, so as to have their garments washed and made white in the mystical blood of the Lamb: these are not poluted with the sins and iniquities of the world, who have experienced this blood to sprinkle the heart from an evil conscience: these are capable of serving the living God; and coming from the laver or pool that truly washes, there is none unfruitful, but every one bearing twain, and they are inwardly clean and fruitful to God, and walk with him, whose bright and shining *lives are also* fruitful to the world that will *receive them.* Read this, thou that hast known *something of* the work of conversion, and con-

sider the great difference there is between the bright lives of the virtuous, and the dull and cloudly lives of the vicious, and be sure thou look well, which of these thou most resemblest in thine.

Now when we came into Pennsylvania, my companion before mentioned, whom I loved well, told me he must go back to Virginia; it became an exercise to us both, for I could not see my way clear to go back, having been twice through that province. When no other way appeared, but we must part, (for my way appeared clear for the Jerseys, Long-Island, Rhode-Island, and New-England) I held it needful that we should, as we did, call the friends and elders of Philadelphia and thereabouts together, to let them know how we parted, for we parted in much love and tender-heartedness; yet notwithstanding, lest any undue reflections should be cast upon the friends there concerning us, because of our parting, I thought these friends would be capable of setting those things in their proper light, being witnesses thereto; so taking our leave of our dear friends in these parts, I travelled without any companion, outwardly or constantly; but I sometimes fell into company with Elizabeth Webb and Sarah Clement, who were virtuous women, and lived near the kingdom, and were of good service in their travels, and grew in truth, which whil

with them I was sensible of: we travelled under great care and circumspection, both for our own good, and avoiding offence, as became our places and holy profession, that in all things we might adorn the gospel of the kingdom, a dispensation of which was committed to us to preach unto others. Good service I had for the Lord, and great satisfaction in my own mind in these parts, the Lord helping me by his mighty power through all my trials, as my heart and mind was devoted and resigned to answer his requirings.

I had great openings in several places in New England, and it appeared clear to me, and sometimes I spoke openly of it, that the Lord would gather a great people to the saving knowledge of the truth in his time, notwithstanding what many of our friends had suffered for the name of the Lord, and testimony which they held in these parts, from the predecessors of the present inhabitants: the view of the state of these things, especially the great sufferings of many of our faithful friends, put me in mind of that saying, that the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church; and in this case, I believe it will be fulfilled in its season.

One passage happened, which I think not fit to pass over in silence: There came into one *meeting, eastward* of New England, a man, who *was brother to* a Presbyterian priest, to oppose *friends, (who,* as friends said, had been often

very troublesome in that meeting) in the beginning of the meeting he desired to have liberty to ask some questions. I being a stranger, and not having so much as heard of the man, nor any making reply to him, I felt liberty in the truth to return the following answer in behalf of the meeting, That I did apprehend it was the desire of friends, inasmuch as the meeting was appointed for the worship of God, and not for asking of questions, or controversies, that the chief part should first be answered; and I also thought the meeting would be willing, in the conclusion to give him liberty to ask the questions, if his intent therein was for information or satisfaction, and not for contention. Friends were silent, and the man submitted to what was proposed, and a good meeting we had, the Lord's heavenly power and living presence being with us, and the substance was felt among us, and exalted over all the shadows and types; and Christ the true bread and living water, light, and life of the world, was exalted that day; and the mighty God and Father, with his beloved Son, through the help of the Holy Spirit, was glorified, who is worthy for ever. Near the conclusion of the meeting, the man began to speak well of what he had heard, particularly touching that of water-baptism *which* he said, he had nothing to object *against; but as* to the Sacrament, as he called it, *because little* or nothing had been said about it,

therefore he concluded, we either denied or disused it; or words to the same purport. Then I stood up, and said, I did not remember that the word Sacrament was in all the Bible; but, I said, I suppose he meant the bread and wine; he answered he did; I asked him, whether he was of the same mind the Episcopal church was of; if not of the same mind, he might say so; for they say, the bread and wine is an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace, &c. what said he to it: he was some time silent; then I asked him, How long he thought that sign was to continue? he replied to the end of the world. I answered, He did not read in all the Bible, that the Lord had appointed any figure or sign but what was to end in the substance which is to be witnessed and enjoyed in this world, and not put off only to the end or conclusion thereof, as his argument seemed to declare, by his urging, that the sign of that divine substance must remain till the end of this world. I asked him, what he could answer to that: he turned off with only saying, I was too great a scholar for him, and so he could not meddle with me. He then was silent, and there being many people, I had a fine opportunity to open to the tenderhearted and friends present, how that was at *best but a sign*, which the people eat and drank *outwardly*, in remembrance of Christ's death *until he came*, but that I could now prove plente-

ously from the New Testament, that the substance, the grace, was come, and urged many proofs out of the Scriptures to the same purpose, and when I had done, what I had said so reached a good-like old man, a Presbyterian, that he confessed with tears, he had heard much said upon that subject, but had never heard it so opened before; and said he believed I was in the right. The meeting broke up in a good frame, and friends much rejoiced that truth came over all, and the contentious man was silenced: and when the meeting was over, the goodly old man took me to the door, and asked me, what a man should do in case of a solemn league and covenant, he being entered into it: I told him, I needed not to direct him, for he had that in himself which would shew him what he should do; for if one should make an agreement or covenant with hell and death, in the time of ignorance and darkness, and now the true light discovered it to be so; the same light which discovered and manifested it to be wrong, as he was faithful to the same, would shew him how and when to break it, and every other wrong thing; to which light I recommended him, and bid him take heed to it; which, he said, he hoped he should; and so I left him with tears on his cheeks, and passed on.

I omitted one thing which happened in that *part of New* England, near New York and Long-

Island, although I was twice backward and forward, yet to be brief in my travels through those countries, intended to make one account serve, viz, As I was speaking in a meeting, there came a great damp over my spirit, and in that time came into the meeting several men, occasioned by a topping and great man in the world, who had given them an expectation that they should hear how he would oppose the Quakers; but in a short time truth rose, and friends generally heard a man say to this disputant, "Why do ye not speak?" He hushed him with saying, "The man is upon the subject which I intended to oppose them with." After some time the man was put upon again to speak to me, with a "Why do you not speak?" We heard him say, "The man has opened the thing so as I never heard it before, and I have nothing to say; and to his own, and the wonder of his neighbours, he sat down upon a seat near the door, and wept tenderly; so it was a good time to him, and many more, for the Lord's mighty power was amongst us. And in my return from my journey in the east parts of New England, the same great man desired me to condescend to have a meeting at his house; and after due consideration and approbation of friends, who desired *it might be so*, when they knew it was his request, *a meeting* was appointed, and I heard *there were likely* to be at it a great many of th

higher sort of Presbyterians of his neighbourhood.

I went to the meeting under no small concern of mind, but when I was come into the great house, I was very much affected with the wise conduct of the man, to see in what excellent order he had placed every thing, so that I could not find wherein any thing could be amended; and a heavenly meeting it was without any opposition; and at the breaking up of the meeting, this tender man, whose heart was broken and opened by the power of truth, said audibly, His heart and house were open to receive me, and such as me, let all say what they would to the contrary. But what the subject matter was at the first meeting when he came in, I forgot; it was enough that we remembered we had a good and heavenly meeting, and were truly thankful for the same to him who was the author thereof.

I and some other friends being in our passage by water in a vessel bound for Rhode Island, and meeting with high and contrary winds, we put into a creek some miles distant from Rhode Island, and desired the people to procure us some horses to ride on, and we would pay them any thing that was reasonable, but hoped they would not make a prey of us, for we were strangers, and they ought to do to us as they would *be done by*, if they were in a strange land, as *we were;* and there came up to us a goodly

old man, and asked us, what people we wer
if we were not Quakers? I told him, we we
in scorn so called, but we did not much mi
names, for there was but little in them. H
was a brisk talking man, and said, "The
was a man here lately that said he was a Quak
and borrowed a horse, and when he was go
some miles from this place, he offered to s
the horse; "I know not," said the man, "b
you are such." I returned this answer to t
reflection; That was a great proof that we we
an honest and reputable people were we we
known, he might assure himself of that; f
when a man is so wicked, as to become a not
rious cheat, he will cover himself under t
best name he can think of, otherwise he mig
have said he was a Baptist, or a Presbyteria
or an Episcopalian, and desired you to le
him an horse; but you mind not these name
neither doth the wicked man think he can pa
so well under any of these last, but under t
first; and the reason of it I leave thee to judg
The old man asked no more questions, b
used his endeavours to get us horses, and a m
and horse to go with us, to have the horses bac
again, and we were well mounted; but befo
we set forward, the old man took me to h
house, and was very courteous to me, for thou
we had spoke for some victuals in as shor
time as well might be, he invited me to di

ought of his apples and beer, which he
have my friends to partake of, for, he
and we found it true) it was but a poor inn;
k there was no liquor at it but brandy or
nd water. The old man and I parted
vingly, and I gave him a piece of money
w my gratitude for his civility and good
to us. The people looked upon us as some
wonder, for I heard one say, "Are these
rs?" well, said he, "they look like other
." How we had been represented, and
om, it is not hard to gather, for it is very
nt, the same spirit and the same enmity
th continue in some of the inhabitants of
untry, which some of our friends former-
the severe effects of: but they are since
hat moderated by the government there,
is of a more mild and Christian disposi-
although I am well assured, that many of
re conscientious and thinking people in
parts of the world begin to see, and many
e and understand in time, that hanging
king away lives, for the sake of religion,
osite to Christ, and the nature of the true
n which is wrought in man by the opera-
uickenings, and indwellings of the Holy
which, as it is regarded and followed,
s and *brings the* soul of man in some de-
put on the purity, heavenly image, and
f Christ, which is love, praying for ene-

mies, and is not for destroying, but saving lives; but how far the reverse will agree with that religion taught by Christ, and practised by him and the apostles, I would have all seriously consider of in time.

While we were in Boston, when one of the afore-mentioned worthy women was declaring excellently, with both good utterance and voice, as also good matter as the manner of the inhabitants of Boston had been for many years to encourage, or at least suffer a rude mob to bawl and make a noise, so they did now, that it was hard to hear so as to understand distinctly what the friend said, although she spoke plain and intelligibly: it did very much grieve me to see the ignorance, and darkness of those high professors of religion, so that when the friend had done, observing there appeared men of some note in the world, I requested them to hush the rabble, for I had something to say which I desired them to make known to the governor and chief men of the town; so they soon quelled the noise. Then I told them, That in case we were as erroneous as some might insinuate we were, that was not the way to convince us of our errors, neither to bring us out of them, but rather to establish us in them; *and that was not* the way for them to gain *proselytes, but the* way to lose many from them, and *increase dissenters*; for what convincement could

by noise and clamour, and hooting, as if uld split their own lungs: I had come way to see them and what character give of them: I never thought to have much folly amongst a wise and religious s now I saw; "Tell the governor and chief wn, what the old Englishman saith; ashamed of such doings." It had a good r when I came after, we had quiet s; and I understood by a letter from Zackary, of Boston, to Old England, Governor said, I was in the right, and that peace should be kept in friends s there; and I never heard to the con- t it is well yet as to that. We had ason to be truly thankful to the Lord , and all other his mercies, that he, the of all good, is pleased to favour us nd as an instance of the Lord's mercy poor sufferers, and to shew the implac- y of these people to friends, the case of Maulham, of Salem, may suffice, in some , to set forth both, who was a great in the time of hot persecution, when the tors had stripped him of almost all he eir insatiable minds not content with ey came with axes, and hewed down *apple-trees* in his orchard, it being a , *and left* the stumps about the height 's *knee*, and, as Thomas Maulham said

they took the way, as they thought, to ruin him; but the Lord turned it into a blessing, for the trees grew to admiration, and came to bear fruit abundantly, and a finer orchard I have not seen in all my travels, for the bigness of it; let the Lord be sanctified by all his people, and admired by all them that believe.

I with several other friends, went from Salem yearly meeting (which was a large and good meeting) towards Dover, and coming to a river, I staying a little behind, a friend took my horse, with two more, into the boat, and by that time I came to the river side, the boat was sinking, and the ferryman made a lamentable cry, saying, The boat is sunk and we shall be all drowned; although it was so ordered, that there was but one friend in the boat with the boatman, and I do not remember that ever before now, my horse was in any boat, and I not there; which I looked on as the mercy of a kind Providence to me, and to several other friends in company. I hearing the noise, as before, (and also the flowndering of the horses when tumbling into the water) called to the men to be sure to take care to free themselves of all the tackling of the horses, (as bridles, stirrups, &c.) and catch hold of my horse's tail, and he would bring them both on shore; but if they trusted to the other, (as before mentioned) when the horses swam, they would fail them,

unless very strong: and to have them hold by the bridle was the way to drown both horse and man: this advice was given while they had the horses in their hands; the boatman, being a lively youth, took my advice, caught hold of my horse's tail, it being long, (which I ever approved of among rivers) and I calling to my horse, he came quickly with the man ashore, but left the honest old friend Ezekiel Waring, (to whose house we intended to go that night) in the river floating to the neck, a hundred yards from the shore by computation, yet watchful Providence did so attend, that his life was preserved to a wonder; for it was so ordered although he missed taking my advice, and caught hold of his stirrup, and the girth broke, as they are apt to do if they be tight when the horse begins to swim, which brought off the saddle and pillion, and the oar of the boat and his hat, which with the pillion-seat being in his arms, just bore up his head above water for some time; his poor wife seeing the danger to which her husband was exposed fell into a fainting fit: (there being neither house, man, or boat, to be seen on this side of the river but ourselves, the boatman, and the stem and stern of the sunk boat full of water.) A house there was on the other side of the river, which was half a mile over. The ferryman did his best to get a boat or canoe, and although it began to be dark,

yet he found a canoe, which is made of a fine piece of timber hollowed in the form of a boat. and generally will carry but two or three or four men; he coming near, asked if Ezekiel, was alive: I told him he was, but very weak, for I had often heard him blubber in the water; I encouraged him, that he might not faint in his mind, for I told him, I yet believed his life would be preserved; he would very faintly say, Unless help came, he could not hold it long. I went on by the waterside, and laid me down often on the land, not much regarding wet or dirt, sometimes tumbling over logs of wood and limbs of trees, for so it is in these uncultivated places. I directed the man with his canoe where the poor friend was, as near as I could tell by my last observation, and withal desired he would turn the stern of his canoe to him, as he could not lift him into the canoe; neither to let him lay his hand upon the broad side of it, but upon the stern, lest he should overset it, and they be both drowned: so he did, and brought him gently on shore, to the great joy of his loving wife and us all. The boatman, as he owned, had found my counsel good, and therefore would have me tell him what he might do now: I bid him fetch the boat to shore by the fowler or rope, and then go and carry Ezekiel *in the canoe* to the inn on the other side of the *water, that* he might dry, warm, and refresh

himself until we came; in the mean time we cleared the boat of water, which when done, we put two horses into it, and I towed my horse at the boat's stern, to make room for several, especially the good women before mentioned, who were at this time in my company, not without their exercise any more than myself: we got well over, and then the ferryman and friend on the other side, brought the horses that were left, being three, which were enough for the boat, and proved too many the first time. We found the good old friend finely and well recruited, and got to his house about midnight, where we were glad, and our hearts were full of praises to the Lord for this great and eminent deliverance and preservation.

In this first visit, while in Rhode Island, I met with something worthy of thy notice, if thou art such a reader as I wish thou mayest be, which was thus: Being in Rhode Island, several friends came to me in some of the intervals of the yearly meeting, (for it held several days, both for worship and discipline) to inquire whether it was usual to let the young, and such as had but appeared little in testimony in our parts of the world, come into meetings of public friends: I said, Yes, if they were of clean lives, and *what they* had to say, approved; and *it was very like* such might want advice as

much as those who were come to more experience in the work of the ministry, if not more: this was some means of enlarging the said meetings of ministers now coming on. When I came into the meeting, several of the elders desired me to go into the gallery, which I refused, the concern upon my mind being so great, I thought it was enough that I could but get into the house, and sit down amongst the lowest rank.

This meeting was one not to be forgotten, because of the eminent visitation from the Lord that was upon us in it; I have not often seen the like; I question if there were any dry cheeks for some time in it; and the manner of the working of the heavenly power was remarkable, in order to the sanctifying and preparing vessels for the Lord's use; and he broke us down by his judgments from following flattering flesh, and the pleasing vanities of the world, and the subtil baits of Satan, by the tenders of his love, and engaged us to follow his heavenly and inward calls, knocks, and reproofs of his Holy Spirit, and to obey the dictates of the same. When the Lord prepares in a good degree for this work of the ministry, many have been unwilling to give up and obey, until they have tasted of the Lord's displeasure, and in part of his judgments, which have brought them into a submission; after which they went out with their lives

sometimes in their hands, and became a wonder to men, bearing their reproach, and sometimes appeared in great congregations, sometimes in noises and tumults, and sometimes were in watchings and fastings, in weariness, hunger, and in cold, with much more, for the name of the Lord and his testimony, and for the enjoyment of peace, and the internal presence of him that hath separated us to this work by the Holy Ghost; and it is in and by our abiding faithful to the same, that we are preserved in a capacity of perseverance through all to the end, to the mutual help and comfort one of another, and renown of the name of the Lord, who is worthy now and for ever.

We also had a very large meeting on this island in an orchard, where I had good service for the Lord; and I remember I was much concerned about the two ministrations, viz. *John's* baptism with *water*, and CHRIST's with the *Holy Ghost*, it being clear from *John's* words, that he saw to the end of his own dispensation when he declared, *he must decrease*, but CHRIST *must increase;* which is generally understood to respect their differing dispensations; for the first baptism was to baptize *unto repentance*, the other to *the purging of the floor, and burning up of that which was combustible*, viz. the chaff and *stubble, which the* Lord's baptism burneth up inwardly, *and* which no elementary thing can do

for if all the eatings, washings, observations, and ceremonies under the law, although to *Israel* commanded and enjoined by the Lord, could not make the comers thereunto *perfect*, how should these or any of them now, when not commanded, as they never were to us, perfect the Gentile world? So what I had upon my mind, as I received I went through with, and shewed the beginning, use and end of the watery dispensation, and the use and continuance of CHRIST'S spiritual baptism to the end of the world. The meeting broke up, and friends went into an upper room in an inn; but I felt such an exercise upon my spirit that I could not eat, but desired friends to be easy, and I would eat as soon as I could; and while I was walking over the large chamber alone, there came up three men whom I knew not, or what they were, but it sprang livingly in my heart to set my eyes on them in the Lord's dread, and so I did; they passed away, and I was told afterwards, that they were three Baptist preachers who had been at the meeting, and came once more to see me, with a design to have a dispute with me; but, they said, I looked so sharply, they durst not meddle with me. Thus the Lord in a good degree wrought for me, blessed be his worthy name for ever.

Now I leave the account of my travels in those *parts, and enter* upon my second, with my honest *companion* James Bates, who was born in

Virginia, and travelled much with me through many provinces, and some Islands; we had good service together, and it was much with me, when on Rhode Island, to visit Nantucket, where there were but very few friends; Peleg Slocum, an honest public friend, near Rhode Island, intending to carry us in his sloop to the said island that night; and Peleg thought we had been close in with our desired landing place, but we fell short, and night coming on, and having but one small canoe to help us on shore, which would carry but three people at once, we went on shore at twice, and left the sloop at an anchor; and it being grown dark, we thought we were going up into the island among the inhabitants, but soon found that we were upon a beach of sand and rubbish, where was neither grass nor tree, neither could we find the sloop that night, though we sought it carefully, and hollowed one to another till we were weary, so that we were forced to settle upon our little island, from the centre of which, one might cast a stone into the sea on every side; here we staid that night, not knowing but the sea, when at the height, would have swept us all away, but it did not; there I walked, and sometimes sat, until morning, but slept none; *at last the morning* came, and the mist went *away, and we got on* board again, and reached *the island about* the ninth or tenth hour.

The master was willing, at our request, to land three of us, (*i.e.*) me, my companion, and Susanna Freborn, a minister who had a concern upon her mind for some time, (as she signified to friends in Rhode Island, where she lived) to visit the few friends in Nantucket, and friends thought this a proper season to pay that visit. She was a woman well beloved, and in good unity with friends.

We landed safe, and as we went up an ascent, we saw a great many people looking towards the sea for great fear had possessed them, that our sloop was a French sloop loaded with men and arms, who were coming to invade the island: I held out my arms and told them, I knew not of any worse arms than these on board. They said, they were glad it was no worse, for they had intended to have alarmed the island, it being a time of war: I told the good-like people, for so they appeared to me, that Peleg Slocum, near Rhode Island, was master of the sloop, and that we came to visit them in the love of God, if they would be willing to let us have some meetings amongst them. They behaved themselves very courteously towards us, and said, they thought we might.

We then inquired for Nathaniel Starbuck, who *we understood* was in some degree convinced of *the truth*, and having directions to his house, we *went thither*, and I told him, We made bold to

come to his house, and if he was free to receive us, we should stay a little with him, but if not, we should go elsewhere; for we heard he was a seeking religious man, and such chiefly we were come to visit: he said, we were very welcome. And by this time came in his mother Mary Starbuck, whom the islanders esteemed as a judge among them, for little of moment was done there without her, as I understood.

At the first sight of her it sprang in my heart, "To this woman is the everlasting love of God." I looked upon her as a woman that bore some sway in the island, and so I said, and that truly, "We are come in the love of God to visit you, if you are willing to let us have some meetings among you:" she said, she thought we might; and withal said, there was a Non-conformist minister who was to have a meeting, and they were going to it, and she thought it would be the best way for us to go with them to the meeting. I shewed my dislike to that for these reasons; first, we did not want to hear what that minister had to say, because some of us had tried them before we came there, (meaning the Non-conformists of several sorts) and if we should go, and could not be clear without speaking something in the meeting, he might take it ill; but as we understand there is another meeting appointed at the second hour for the same man, therefore, as the present consi

tution of things is, we look upon ourselves to stand upon an equal ground in religious capacity with other Dissenters; and if we should appoint our meeting at the same hour, then the people will be left to their choice to which meeting they will go. The great woman approved of the proposal, and said, Indeed that was the best way. The next consideration was, Where shall the meeting be? She paused a while, and then said, "I think at our house." I from thence gathered she had an husband, for I thought the word our carried in it some power besides her own, and I presently found he was with us; I then made my observation on him, and he appeared not a man of mean parts, but she so far exceeded him in soundness of judgment, clearness of understanding, and an elegant way of expressing herself, and that not in an affected strain, but very natural to her, that it tended to lessen the qualifications of her husband.

The meeting being agreed on, and care taken as to the appointment of it, we parted, and I lay down to try if I could get any sleep, for I have shewed before what sort of a night the last was with us; but sleep vanished away from me, and I got up and walked to and fro in the woods until the meeting was mostly gathered. I was under a very great load in my spirit, but the occasion of it was hid from me, but I saw

it my place to go to meeting, the order of which was such, in all the parts thereof, I had not seen the like before; the large and bright rubbed room was set with suitable seats or chairs, the glass windows taken out of the frames, and many chairs placed without very conveniently, so that I did not see any thing wanting, according to the place, but something to stand on, for I was not free to set my feet upon the fine cane chair, lest I should break it.

I am the more particular in this exact and exemplary order than in some other things, for the seats both within and without doors were so placed, that the faces of the people were towards the seats where the public friends sat, and when so set they did not look or gaze in our faces, as some I think are too apt to do, which in my thoughts bespeaks an unconcerned mind: the meeting being thus gathered, and sat down in this orderly and ample manner, (although there were but very few bearing our name in it) it was not long before the mighty power of the Lord began to work, and in it my companion especially did appear in testimony in the fore part thereof; and while he was speaking, a priest (not him before touched on, but another) flung out some reflections upon him, and the people for his sake, which I did

not see the least occasion for; after which he went away, (but more of this in the sequel.)

I sat a considerable time in the meeting before I could see my way clear to say any thing until the Lord's heavenly power raised me, and set me upon my feet as if one had lifted me up, and what I had first in commission to speak, was in the words of Christ to Nicodemus, viz. "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God;" with these words, "Nay, the natural and unregenerate man cannot so much as see the heavenly and spiritual kingdom of Christ, which stands not only in power but also in righteousness, joy and peace in the Holy Spirit; and to be born again, was not to be done unperceivably, no more than the natural birth could be brought forth without trouble; and to pretend to be in Christ and not to be new creatures, is preposterous; and to pretend to be new creatures, and yet not able to render any account how it was performed, was unreasonable; for it could not be, as I urged before, without our knowledge; for to be born again, signified to be quickened and raised into a spiritual and new life, by which the body of the sins of the flesh is mortified, and we come to live a self-denying life: those who are crucified *with* Christ, they are crucified to their *sins, that as he* died for sin, we might die to *sin: in this* state we lived not after the flesh.

although we live (as the apostle said) in the flesh; but the life which these live, is through faith in the Son of God: and to have all this, and much more wrought in us, and we know nothing of it, is unaccountable."

As I was thus opened, and delivering these things, with much more than I can remember, the great woman I felt, for most of an hour together, fought and strove against the testimony, sometimes looking up in my face with a pale, and then with a more ruddy complexion; but the strength of the truth increased, and the Lord's mighty power began to shake the people within and without doors; but she who was looked upon as a Deborah by these people, was loth to lose her outside religion, or the appearance thereof: when she could no longer contain, she submitted to the power of truth, and the doctrines thereof, and lifted up her voice and wept: Oh then the universal cry and brokenness of heart and tears was wonderful! From this time I do not remember one word that I spoke in testimony, it was enough that I could keep upon the true bottom, and not be carried away with the stream above my measure.

I might add much more concerning this day's work, but I intend not to say any thing to the praise of the creature, but to the renown of the mighty name of the Lord of Hosts, and let a

flesh lie as in the dust for ever; for while I continued speaking in this state, as before mentioned, and thus swallowed up in the internal presence of Christ, where there was no want of power, wisdom, nor utterance, I spoke but a sentence and stopt, and so on for some time: I have since thought of John's being in the spirit on the Lord's day. If it had been a state to have been continued in, I am of the mind I should not have been sensible of weariness, neither of hunger or pain. This is a mystery to many, yet these are faithful and true sayings, thou mayest read that canst; but there are none who can know the white stone, and new name, but they who have it; there are none who stand upon mount "Sion with harps" of God "in their hands," but only such as "have come through great tribulations, and have washed their garments and made them white in the blood of the Lamb;" to these are the seals of the book of the mysteries of the glorious kingdom opened these are called out of nations, kindreds, tongues and people; these are redeemed out of the fallen and earthly state of old Adam; into the living, heavenly and spiritual state in Christ the second Adam; these cry *holy;* the other part of the children of men cry *unholy, because* they are not willing to cast *down their crowns* at the feet or appearance of *Christ in their own souls;* although such with

the four beasts may cry, "Come and see," yet are they not properly qualified to "worship the Lord God and the Lamb before his throne," as thefour and twenty elders did, and as all do, and will do, who worship God in his holy temple, in spirit and in truth, according to his own appointment; who are not tied up to the canons, creeds, systems, and dictates of men, much of which is beaten out of the wisdom, parts, and natural comprehension of earthly fallen man.

I return from this, which may seem a mysterious digression, to the other part of what did happen concerning the meeting, and come now to the breaking up thereof; and as extreme heats oft end in extreme cold, and as great heights frequently centre (as to man in this capacity) in great depths, and great plenty in great poverty, which I have often seen to be good in order to keep the creature low, in fear, and in a dependance upon the Lord, I soon fell into such a condition that I was like to die away; and when it was so, I with my companion made a motion to break up the meeting, but could not for some time, for they sat weeping universally; then I told the meeting, especially such as were near me, that if I should faint away, I *would not have* them to be surprized at *it; for I was much* concerned lest that should *hurt these tender people*; my life was not dea

to me in comparison of the worth of the soul
the children of men; but all this did not b
up the meeting: but after some time M
Starbuck stood up, and held out her hand,
spoke tremblingly and said, "All that ever
have been building, and all that ever we
done, is all pulled down this day; and this is
everlasting truth;" or very near these wo
Then she arose, and I observed that she, ar
many as could well be seen, were wet with
from their faces to the fore-skirts of their
ments, and the floor was as though there
been a shower of rain upon it; but Mary,
worthy woman, said to me, when a little c
to consider the poor state that I was in, "I
child, what shall I do for you?" I said "a l
would do for me; if thou canst get me someth
to drink that is not strong, but rather warm
may do well:" so she did, and I went
her son's, where my clothes were, that I m
shift me, for I felt sweat in my shoes
walked.

I mention this partly for the sakes of suc
my brethren, who may be at any time in
like case, to take care to keep out of the c
and beware of drinking that which is c
neither is brandy good, for it feeds too m
upon the weakened vitals; but in all th
endeavour to possess your vessels in sanct
tion and honour: and as it is not in man's

to make the vessel clean nor prepare it, therefore if the Lord doth (with thy obedience through the work of his grace and Holy Spirit) fit thy vessel for his work and service, take this caution: see that thou neither destroy, defile, nor hurt the same. But it may be, some or other have done all these, some one way and some another.

I remember Peleg Slocum, (before mentioned) said after this meeting, that the like he was never at; for he thought the inhabitants of the island were shaken, and most of the people convinced of the truth: however, a great convincement there was that day, Mary Starbuck was one of the number, and in a short time after received a public testimony, as did also her son Nathaniel.

After I was somewhat revived, my companion having a mind to speak to the priest, to know why he did so reflect on him, desired me to go with him, which I did with several more. and coming to his door, where he was seated upon a bench, James Bates asked him why he did so reflect? he replied, He was in a passion, and had nothing against him; then James forgave him, and they fell into some debate concerning faith; my friend urged the apostle James's words, which are these, "As the body is dead without the spirit, so is faith without works." The priest

said, Dead faith was nothing, and that it had no being in the world. I thought he appeared to be in the craft; and after they had tugged at it a while, I said, I found something in my mind to interpose, if they would hear me; they both shewed a willingness to hear what I had to say, and then I asked, What belief or faith that was the devils had; for I did not understand, but that although they believed there was a God, they remained devils still; therefore the word, dead is a proper word and properly adapted to that which any may call faith, and is not operative, but a notion that may be received by education, by hearing or reading, and not that faith which works by love and overcomes the world: and because of its not working, being inactive and useless, is fitly called dead: "what dost thou say to that?" He said, I was too great a scholar for him. I replied, There was no great scholarship in that. He then invited me to stay all night, and said, I should be as welcome as his own children, and he and I would dispute about that between ourselves. I declined it, and shewed these reasons, for so doing; if he declined the debate publicly, I would not debate it privately, for then these neighbours of his would want the benefit of it; and so we parted with my saying, as it immediately sprang up in my heart, "Thou hast been a man in thy young years that the Lord has been near, and favoured with many openings, and if

thou hadst been faithful to the gift of God, thou mightest have been serviceable; but thou hast been unfaithful, and a cloud is come over thee and thou art laid aside as useless.

I was altogether a stranger to the state of the priest, nor had I heard any thing of him, nor indeed of the state of the inhabitants of the island, but what I heard after mostly from Mary Starbuck; for as we walked from the priest's house towards our quarters, she said, every thing she now met with, did confirm her in the truth; for she knew this was the state of the priest, as I had said, she being acquainted with him in his best state, and then he had fine openings, and a living ministry among them, but of late a cloud was come over him, and, as I said, he was laid by and useless. She also put me in mind of something I had said in the meeting about Election, which as near as I can remember was thus: I had endeavoured to make one in the election, and one born again, much, the same; for I had laid waste all claim to election without being born again; for as Christ was the chosen or elect of God, who never fell, could such who were in the fall be the branches of Christ, the pure heavenly Vine? Or such who were found in the impure state, and *in the degeneracy*, by reason of sin and *wicked works?* Or would Christ be married *to a people*, and become as their husband, who

were in an unconverted state? Could this be the true church of Christ? Could this be the Lamb's bride, who had departed from his spirit, and was in the pollutions of the world through lust, and running after the pleasures and fineries of the world, depending upon ceremonies, and outside things and elements, which appear not to be essential to our salvation, neither do we find life in them, nor conversion through them? I was of the apostle's mind, that "Neither circumcision, nor uncircumcision availeth any thing, but a new creature:" and what man in the world can say, that water (although he may have been baptized or dipped into the same) hath converted him, or changed his state from a natural to a spiritual, or from a dead to a living state in Christ? Or, who that have gone through the most celebrated ceremonies (as some may account them) had thereby got dominion over sin and satan?

Having thus treated of things, or to this purpose, among them, I said to Mary, that she warred and strove against the testimony for a time: and as near as I remember she said their principle was, that such who believed once in Christ, were always in him, without possibility of falling away; and whom he had once loved, *he loved to the* end: and it was a distinction *they had given* to their church, to be called Electarians; *and as* I said, or near it, she had

mind to be pulled out of her strong hold. But when she saw the glory of Christ, and the true church, as the queen of the south saw Solomon's, and the glory of his house; and as she had her questions and doubts answered, she had no more spirit in her, or doubts or questions, but openly owned, "This is the truth, this is the glory I have heard so much of:" that spirit of doubting and questioning was swallowed up now, by her hearing and beholding for herself this greater Solomon, his wisdom and glory, and the great house that he had built, (the servants, the attendance, the excellent order, with the ascent unto the house of God, which were all wonderful in Solomon's house, carried in them a lively resemblance of Christ, his power, glory, and wisdom) as also that order and mien which is seen among his faithful servants, his church and people, even such as our spiritual Solomon rules in and over by his spirit and power. Here is Solomon or Man of Peace, elsewhere called the Prince of Peace; and as Solomon ruled in Jerusalem, formerly called Salem, or City of Peace, and indeed over all Judah, and over all his tribes, so doth Christ in his kingdom every where upon the face of the whole earth. Learn this, see and know in and for thyself, that thou art truly *translated out of the* kingdom of death and *darkness into the kingdom* of Christ, which is a *kingdom of power, life,* light, peace and joy in

the Holy Ghost. I was much bowed down in my spirit, and in weakness, fasting, and in much fear; for the more that truth appears, the more it brings the creature into self-abasement.

A passage is here revived to my mind, which was thus; After a large yearly-meeting, where were many able ministers, worthy WILLIAM PENN, who was one of them, taking me aside, said, "The main part of the service of this day's work went on thy side, and we saw it, and were willing and easy to give way to the truth, though it was through thee, who appears but like a shrub; and it is but reasonable the Lord should make use of whom he pleases: now, methinks, thou mayest be cheerful." From which I gathered, that he thought I was too much inclinable to be cast down; therefore I gave him this true answer, "I endeavour to keep in a medium, out of all extremes, as believing it to be most agreeable to my station;" with this remark, "the worst of my times rather imbitter the best to me." WILLIAM shook his head, and said with much respect, "There are many who steer in this course besides thee, and it is the safest path for us to walk in;" with several other expressions which bespoke affection.

This worthy man, and minister of the gospel, *notwithstanding* his great endowments and *excellent qualifications*, yet thought it his place to *stoop to and* give way to the truth, and let the

holy testimony go through whom it might please the Lord to impower and employ in his work, although it might be through contemptible instruments. I sincerely desire this may prove profitable to those whom it may concern, and into whose hands it may come, that the Lord's work may be truly minded, and given way unto, when it is opened; for seeing no man can open it, let not any strive on the man's part to shut the same. I have at times seen something of this nature, which hath not been altogether to my satisfaction; a word to the wise may serve, I would hope, and may be sufficient for a caution, for what I have written is in the love of God, and under a concern that hath been upon my mind at times, for some years, to leave behind me a gentle caution to my tender friends of both sexes, to have an especial care in all things to recommend, not only their gifts, but their demeanour in them, as also their conversations after them, to every man's conscience in the sight of God, so that you may build up the Lord's house, (like the wise woman) and always have a great care, that nothing you say or do may any way tend to the hinderance of the Lord's work, or discourage the weakest in the flock of Christ, but labour to fasten every stake, *and strengthen* every cord of Sion, and as much *as you are capable*, build up the tabernacle in *Jerusalem*; for as God is a spirit, and the soul

of man is a spiritual existence, and as the sou
body of man become sanctified and prepar
a temple for the Lord by his Holy Spi
tabernacle in, the Lord is to such as a sanc
to flee to, and rest in, from heats and
storms: here is the true church's rock,
place of defence, (to wit) the name and p
of the mighty God. Oh! that all the in
tants of the earth were acquainted with
name, and rock of defence, they would
then be so much overcome, as they are,
the power of the enemy of the soul, but
live above his region, which is in the earth
rather in the earthly hearts of men. All
who have escaped the pollutions of the w
keep in your tents, until the Lord move
leads forward, and opens the way, sometim
in a wilderness.

Read and understand from whence
things have their rise and original, for the
the church's safety, and its comeliness to
abiding in the truth; this is your place of
ty, where the enemy hath no power, wher
wiles of Satan and inventions of man c
reach, no inchantment hath power over
renowned be the great name of the Lord
and for ever.

How comfortable, how easy and pleasa
even all the books and testimonies, and ex
tions, that are given forth in the spirit, h

of Christ! yea, the very company and con-
ation of such who are preserved in the life,
mes a sweet savour of divine life to the
g; there is edification, comfort, and con-
ion, a strengthening and building up one
nother in the most holy and precious faith,
at I find the truly quickened soul taketh
t delight to resort to, and as much as may
converse with the awakened and truly
kened souls who take up the cross of
st daily, and follow him in the way of self-
al, although it be a way that is much spoken
ast, by such who know not the nature
discipline of the holy cross, and despise
who are the true followers of Christ. To
this essential virtue, seed or leaven of the
dom, or salt of the covenant (Christ) to
: so effectually to the restoring of the pow-
and faculties of the soul, into the first
tude and purity, that all the malignity
be thoroughly purged out, with all the
s or tin, which defiles the man, and makes
unfit for the kingdom and for the service
od, is a great work. Neither is the vessel
erved clean, (when it is in degree cleansed)
through great care, watchfulness, and
ence in attending upon the Lord with
devotedness, and resignation to his mind
rill in all things: experience hath taught
well as what we read in the Holy Scrip-

s, that there are many combats to go
ugh, for such as are engaged in this warfare,
re the above said states, viz. Deliverance
sin and satan, and a sabbatical or peaceful
in Christ can be obtained to the soul.
ome, thou that lovest the light, and bringest
deeds to the light, and believest in the
, and hast thy body full of light, by keep-
hy eye single to God, and in and to all
gs that may tend to his glory and thy duty;
wilt become a child of the light, and
ive the whole armour of light; this is that
h will arm thee on the right hand and on
eft; put off thy own righteousness, which it
be, thy breast hath been too much possess-
ith, and put on Christ's righteousness as a
eastplate," for it much imboldens in immi-
dangers, and also at approaching death;
upon him that hath power, that thy feet
" be shod with the preparation of the gos-
f peace;" so that as the gospel-power, and
el-ministry, all tend to gather into the ways
e gospel and of virtue, thou mayest not fail
a preacher of righteousness in thy walking,
n thy whole conversation; for this is one
e good ends for which the gospel-power
reached and visited thy soul, viz. to purge
d make it clean; and take care to have
thy head "the helmet of salvation," which
a strength and as a crown to thee, not

only in the many encounters, but more especially in thy last encounter with death; and that thou mayest have faith as a "shield" to put on, that thou mayest overcome the world, and have victory; and above all things, take to thyself, "the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God," that through this excellent armour of proof, thou mayest be able to "quench all the fiery darts and temptations of the devil."

If thou art a soldier of Christ, this is thy armour; these are thy accoutrements which fit thee for thy vocation, as a follower of the Lamb through many encounters with thy enemies, which armour will give thee the victory, and bring thee through many tribulations, which is the way to the kingdom of heaven.

Now leaving the eastern parts of New England, and these fine tender people on Nantucket island, with fervent supplications and prayers to the Lord of heaven and earth, that he will prosper his blessed work of conversion which he hath begun amongst them, and in all such upon the face of the whole earth; in the next place I came to Lynn, to Samuel Callings, where I had not been long, before I met with an unusual exercise, which I had expected for some time, would fall upon me, viz.

Having heard of George Keith's intention of being at Lynn monthly-meeting the next day, (this Lynn, as near as I remember, lies between

Salem in the east part, and Boston) the evening coming on, as I was writing to some friends in Old England, one came in haste to desire me to come down, for George Keith was come to the door, and a great number of people and a priest with him, and was railing against friends exceedingly. I said, "Inasmuch as I understood this Lynn meeting is, although large, mostly a newly convinced people, I advise you to be swift to hear, but slow to speak, for George Keith hath a life in argument; and let us, as a people, seek unto and cry mightily to the Lord, to look down upon us, and help us for his name's sake, for our preservation, that none may be hurt."

The country was much alarmed; for, as friends said, George Keith had given notice two weeks beforehand, that he intended to be at this monthly meeting, and the people were in great expectation to hear the Quakers run down, for George Keith had boasted much, of what he would prove against friends. Soon after some pause, retirement, and fervent seeking to the Lord for direction and counsel in this important affair, I went to the rails, and leaned my arms on them near George Keith's horse's head, as he sat on his back, and many people were with him; but the few friends who were come, stood with me in the yard. My fervent prayers were to the Lord, that if

he gave me any thing to speak to George, it might go forth in that power and wisdom, which was able to wound that wicked spirit in which he appeared, and boasted over friends after the following manner, crying, "Is here a man that is a scholar? Is here a man that understands the languages amongst you? If so, I will dispute with him." I told him, It was probable the English tongue was most generally understood and used amongst that people and therefore I thought it was the best to keep to it. He went on, and said, That he was come in the Queen's name to gather the Quakers from Quakerism, to the Mother Church, the good old Church of England, and that he intended to exhibit in our meeting on the morrow these charges following against us, which, he said, he could prove we were guilty of out of our friends' books, viz. Errors, heresies, damnable doctrines, and blasphemies: "Look," said he, "to answer for yourselves, for if you do not, the auditory will conclude, that what I exhibit against you is true."

I was roused up in my spirit in a holy zeal against his wicked insults and great threatenings, and said to him, That it was the fruit of malice and envy, and that he was to us but as an heathen *man and a publican*; (but more of this *anon.) Then he began to cast what slurs and odiums he could upon* friends, with such bitter

invectives as his malice could invent. I sto
with an attentive ear, and a watchful mind ;
as I stood leaning upon the rails, with no sm
concern upon my mind, I felt the Lord's po
er arise, and by it my strength was renew
in the inner man, and faith, wisdom, and co
age with it, so that the fear of man, with
his parts and learning was taken from me ; a
in this state George Keith appeared to me
as a little child, or as nothing: renowned
the most excellent name of the Lord, now a
for ever. But this great champion (Gol
like, at least in his mind) I supposed fea
not any there; he overlooked us all, and
the pride of his heart disdained us ; but
Lord of heaven and earth looked down up
us in a very acceptable time, and helped us
his name's sake, and covered our heads
the day of battle : glorified be his great na
for ever.

I have sometimes thought to omit some p
of this account concerning George Keith,
remember it opened clearly in my mind th
and I said to him, That the hand of the L
was against him, and that he would pour fo
contempt upon him, for his disobedience a
wickedness.

But to return to his reflections: he sa
The Quakers pretend to be against all cer
nies, but he could prove that they used

ceremonies, as taking one another by the hand and men saluting one another, and women doing so to one another, and, he said, that women did salute men; yea, they had done it to him; as it was generally understood by those who heard him, which I thought not worthy my notice, (but more of this anon.) He went on, and said, the Quakers pretended to be against all persecution, but they were not clear, for the Quakers in Pennsylvania and the Jerseys had persecuted him, and would have hanged him, but that there was some alteration in the government.

Then came out one of my arrows, which cut and wounded him deep: I said, "George, that is not true." Upon that the priest drew near, and appeared very brisk, and said, I had as good as charged Mr. Keith (as he called him) with a lie. I replied, "Give me time, and I will prove that which George said, was not true, and then thou and he may take your advantage to rescue him from that epithet of a liar, if you can." The priest said, I knew not Mr. Keith: I replied, If he knew him as well as I did, he would be ashamed to be there as an abettor of him. The priest got away, and troubled me no more in all the engagements that George and I *had afterwards* (although the said priest was *with him.) Then I* demanded of George, What *way our friends* proceeded against him, and wha

measures they took, as he would insinuate, to bring him to the gallows: but I perceived fear began to surprise the hypocrite, and he thinking by my boldness I was an inhabitant in those parts, and knew his abuse to friends in these provinces, and their peaceable behaviour towards him, was willing to let the matter drop, and demanded my name, which was told him. I then asked, How he could have a face to urge such a notorious untruth in the view of that people who were much strangers to, and ignorant of the troubles and differences, chiefly created by him, among friends in these parts.

This meeting (as before mentioned) being generally newly convinced of the truth, therefore I urged to have him come to the particulars of friends' proceedings against him, that even for very shame, among those strangers he would set forth as far as he could in truth, the steps friends had taken in persecuting him, as he pretended; but he would not meddle in the least with it. Then I shewed him, and the people, the falsity of his charge, and the wickedness of his spirit, and the peaceableness of friends' behaviour towards him, and what great affronts and provocations they had put up with at his hand, as I had it from those who were eye and ear witnesses of it: for, as I shewed George Keith, I had searched into the bottom of these matters, and heard that when he stood before governors

and assembly-men in their courts of judicature, when they were met about the affairs of the three provinces, he has tore open his buttons and told them, His back tickled for a whipping, and could they not cut him into collops, and fry and eat them with salt; and that he scorned they should wipe his shoes: all which, with much more, I told him I could prove against him. And when he saw he could not provoke friends to give him some condign punishment, which I thought, as I said to him, none but friends would have spared, especially, when his back tickled so much for a whipping; but they, like men of peace and religion, overlooked it all, and he, like a man full of malice, rather than want something to slur and blacken friends with, wrote a letter, I know not where, but dated it from Bridlington prison, in West Jersey. It must have been dated on the outside of the prison, the doors being locked, so that he could not get into it; yet this went current far off that George Keith was in prison; consequently by friends' procurement, they being chief at the helm of government in those three provinces.

I asked, what he had to say to all this, for it was all provable: he did not object one word against what I had said, but vainly hoping for better success relating to his undertaking in Old England, finding me (as he might suppose) so well versed in the American affairs, hoped no doubt, that I had been more ignorant of the a

fairs in Britain: but, poor man, he sped as ill there also; for he boastingly said, Since it pleased God to open his eyes to see into the worst of the Quakers' errors; although, he said, charity did oblige him to construe every thing at the best whilst in fellowship with them, but since they were so opened, as he said, he had been instrumental to bring from Quakerism, to the good old Mother Church, in Old England, five hundred people. I replied, "That is not true:" if he rightly considered what he had done in Old England, he had little cause to boast; for, I said, I thought about as many persons as he spoke of hundreds, would make up the number there; and if there was occasion I could name all or most of them: and withal told him, that some of those few, whilst amongst us, were grown to be neither honourable nor comfortable to us. I urged George if he could, to name or make appear more in number than I had mentioned, that he had so gathered, as he had falsely said. This was a very great stroke upon him, and put him to a stand.

He then began to ask of my country, and from whence I came: with the account of which I humoured him; yet withal put him in mind of his great brag, and importuned him to *make something* appear towards that great *matter he had* done in Old England, even for *very shame;* for I was ashamed for him, that

a man of his learning, parts, and pretensions, should so expose himself, but he went no farther about it. Then I showed to the people what sort of a man he was, (as they themselves could not but see, who were impartial) and that he was not worthy of our notice, for he cared not what he said, so that he could but calumniate and abuse us.

By this time he appeared somewhat glutted with the sharp sword and keen arrow the Lord gave me, which cut and wounded deep, so that from this time I did not find in our after encounters, he appeared at any time so bold and desperately hardy, but rather expressed himself, although very wickedly, yet in a softer tone. He was now for being gone, threatening us with what he would do on the morrow; but I reminded him, that he was to us as "an heathen man or a publican," and that what he exhibited against us, being but the fruits of wrath and envy, as such we slighted and trod it under our feet as dirt, and rather desired his absence than his company: so away he went, only telling us, he would be with us in the morning. We understood by it, that he intended to be with us at the friend's house, the meeting-house being about a quarter of a mile *from our lodgings*.

The evening coming on, the neighbouring

Presbyterian women fell hard upon our women friends about their saluting men, which George Keith had charged upon them, as was generally understood in the plural, and this appeared as a confirmation, as they alleged, because when charged, I made no reply to it, as I had done to all or most other charges, and had overthrown Mr. Keith, as they said, so that he was not able to stand before me. They ought to have said, before the Lord in the first place. But how the women might clear themselves of that reflection was the present business: I said, I thought it would be the best, at a suitable time in the morning, when George Keith was come, that by handsomely bringing the matter over him, they might learn what women they were who saluted him, and so clear themselves from the reflection cast upon them; for, I said, perhaps he will limit it to some of his near kindred (as wife, mother, sister, daughter) which may serve for a salvo in this present case; for I did not know of any such general practice in any place where I had been, and I had visited most of the meetings in England, Scotland, and Wales. So in the morning, when George, with two priests, and many people were come, with some friends, who filled the house, a woman *friend* stood up, and brought the matter *discreetly* over George Keith. But when she *put the question* in the plural, (women) he

shifted the term, and said, He did not say women. I desired the friend to call to her neighbours who heard what George Keith had said the last evening, and were now present, how they understood the word. One, like a wise and just man, said, He would do justice to every man; and he understood that George said women; and many said to the same purpose, but none to the contrary. The friends asked me, How I understood the word; as being a north countryman, I might know better the North or Scotch dialect than they. I replied, They had a broad way of expressing the word woman, rather sounding it like the plural, but I understood it women, as the above-mentioned discreet man had said.

The next question she put to him was, What woman? He answered, "A good old motherly woman that was gone to heaven many years ago. Then she asked, What countrywoman? He replyed, A Scotch woman. The friend said, It was very well that he had cleared all the world of that fault, (if it might be so termed) but Scotland and the woman dead many years ago. The women friends were greatly satisfied, and glad they were so finely discharged of that which some counted a foul reflection, and especially before their zealous neighbours the *Presbyterians*, who (as the friends said) *probably might* have twitted them with it, whether

the matter was true or false, if it had not been cleared up; but, as I said to George, it was a reflection for reflection's sake: for I was willing to set every thing that was wrong (as far as I was capable) in its proper light, that friends and others, of all persuasions and qualities who were present, might see things as they really were, and not be deceived; and I had much satisfaction in so doing. And inasmuch as I was engaged in the defence of the truth, it appeared the most clear to me to load him with his own lies, mistakes, and wickedness, and to do what we did, as much as in us lay, in the Lord's mighty power; for he appeared to me, like to the angels who kept not their first state.

Matters being thus far gone through, and the meeting-time drawing on, I was in some concern of mind, lest any should be hurt by either hearing or answering George Keith, he having a great propensity to jangling; it therefore opened in my mind to ask him a question, withal reminding him, that he was but to us as an heathen man or a publican, yet he might, if he pleased, answer me the question, which was, Whether he was always sound in the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, yea or nay? Upon which he sat a considerable time in silence, of which I was truly glad, my spirit being much bowed under the apprehension I had of the weighty

exercise that was likely to attend the approaching meeting. But before we parted, George stood up, and taking his staff in his hand by the middle, said, while he was a Quaker, he thought as Paul thought, that he had the Spirit of God, and when he had the Spirit of God, then he wrote sound things, but when he had it not, then he wrote unsound things. I asked, whether these unsound things he wrote were in fundamentals, yea or nay: if not in fundamentals, then my question remained firm and untouched. He would have gone from the matter, but I reminded him of it again, as I supposed he foresaw that he could not answer it, but by bringing a stroke upon himself, for if he had owned his being unsound, I had it under his own hand, in a book written after he left friends, that he was always sound, &c. And if he had said, he was always sound in the fundamentals, as before, then I intended to have asked, why he left us; for he advocated the same orthodox principles which we believed and taught; but we ended quietly, and prepared to go to the great meeting, for by this time many friends and people were come, and coming from every quarter, to see and hear how matters would go between the poor Quakers, and this *great champion* in his heart, George *Keith, for I thought* he most resembled the *great Goliah of Gath*, who defied the armies o

the living God, of any I had ever yet seen in all my travels, in a religious respect.

Now to the meeting we went; George Keith, with two priests and a great many people gathered together of several professions and qualities into one body, and friends and some friendly people into another body; and as we came near to the meeting house, I stood still, and took a view of the people, and it appeared to me as if two armies were going to engage in battle. There appeared with George Keith men of considerable estates, parts, and learning, and we appeared like poor shrubs; and, under a sense of our present state, I had like to have been dismayed, and my faith had even like to have failed me; but I cried mightily to the God and Fountain of all our tender mercies, that he would look down upon us, and help us in this time of great exercise, which was not hid from him; but his penetrating eye saw, and his watchful providence attended us, blessed be his name for ever. I continued my fervent prayers and intercessions, to the Lord of Hosts, that he would arise for his great name's sake, and work for us that day, that the enemies of truth might not triumph or vaunt over us, and that none of these tender plants, which he had brought to the saving knowledge of *the truth might* be hurt.

I had on sooner thus heartily sought to the Lord, but I felt renewed strength come upon me, and the fear of man was taken away from me, and I saw evidently that truth would have the victory that day, and my faith and confidence was greatly strengthened in the Lord. These breathings forth of my spirit to the Lord were in secret without words to be heard by men, but the Lord hears and knows the distress and language of the spirit.

Being thus encouraged in myself, it arose in my heart to speak to friends before we went into the meeting-house, and I advised them to be swift to hear, and slow to speak, and that what was spoken might be in the Lord's power, for that wounds George the most, and slays that wicked and ranting spirit in him, more than all the wisdom of words without it; and let us maintain our testimony of denial against him, and endeavour to get together into one body that we may be a help and strength one to another; and let every one who knows the Lord, cry mightily unto him, that his living power and presence may be amongst us, and I believed the Lord would not suffer any to be hurt. So the meeting gathered, and immediately after, George stood up to tell us, (as before) That *he was come* in the Queen's name, to *gather Quakers* from Quakerism, to the good *old mother* church, the church of England, (

he called it) and that he could prove out of our own books, that we held errors, heresies, damnable doctrines, and blasphemies; with a threat to look to ourselves to answer, or else the auditory would conclude, that what he exhibited against us was true. I expected some of the elder friends would say something to him, but none did; and I having a deep concern upon my mind, lest truth, or the friends of truth, should suffer through our mismanagement, and such as waited for occasion, might have an occasion administered by us against ourselves; I say, under this concern of mind, I stood up, and signified to the people what manner of man George Keith was; notwithstanding he had walked many years amongst us, yet towards the latter end of his so walking with us, he grew very troublesome, by reason of a contentious spirit which did possess him; and after much labour and exercising of patience, and extending of love towards him, in order to recover and reclaim him, all that labour of love and much forbearance would not avail, but he still persisted in the work of contention and disturbance: then he was publicly disowned, and testified against by us, as a person with whom we had no unity or fellowship. And being *thus cast out*, he became to us (agreeable to *the sayings* of Jesus Christ) as an heathen man *or a publican*; and being thus disjointed, to

expose us, what lay in his power, to all sorts of people, he chose printing against us; wherein he hath much abused us, in leaving out the explanatory parts of sentences, and coining words to make the meaning appear different from what was designed, and indeed, from what was most fair and genuine: therefore, some of our friends found themselves concerned to follow him in print, for the clearing us from what he, through envy, would have willingly fastened upon us, and to return his self-contradictions, misinterpretations, and misapplications of our writings upon himself, and to clear our own innocency, and manifest the perverseness and wickedness of his spirit; neither do we, as a people, hold ourselves to be under any obligation to follow him into foreign parts of the world, to answer his arraignments and charges, not being conscious to ourselves that we hold any thing contrary to sound and orthodox doctrine; and also knowing that what he exhibits against us, is the fruit of envy and malice, as such we reject it, and trample it under our feet; and were it not for your sakes, who are strangers to these things, we should take no further notice of George Keith, than to slight and reject him as a man that *cares* not what he says, nor is he *worthy of our notice.*

Then pausing a little, George being quiet, *friend stood up* with a short, but living te

mony, and then my companion; all this in much weight, and with good demonstration. After them it pleased the Lord to open my mouth, I think in as much strength, clearness, and demonstration as ever, beginning with the following words: "In that way you call heresy do we worship the God of our fathers, believing all things that are written concerning Jesus Christ, both as to his Godhead and manhood;" giving a summary account of his birth, working of miracles, some of his doctrines, sufferings and death, ascension and glorification, the coming of the Spirit of Truth, or Comforter, to lead all those who receive, believe and obey it, into all truth; having great openings concerning the law and prophets, and the beginning, service, and end of the ministration of John the Baptist. The people appeared very much down and attentive, for the Lord's heavenly baptizing power was amongst us that day: it was thought many were there who had not been at any of our meetings of worship before, and the presence of the priests there, opened a door for all the rest.

I being clear, left them unto the grace of God, and unto their free teacher Christ, whose *heavenly power* in the appearance of his spirit, *the last and* lasting dispensation, was exalted *that day* above all the shadowy and typical *things that* ever had been in the world: a good

meeting it was, and friends were mutually comforted and edified in the eternal presence of the Lord.

The priest of this place, whose name was Sheppard, before my mouth was opened in testimony, made preparation to write; and when I began to speak, he had his hat upon his knee, and his paper upon its crown, and pen and ink in his hands, and made many motions to write, but wrote nothing; as he began so he ended, without writing at all. And as friends entered the meeting-house in the Lord's power, even that power which cut Rahab, and wounded the dragon, which had been at work, kept down in a good degree the wrong spirit in George, for he appeared much down; but this busy priest called to him several times to make his reply to what I had spoke. After some time, I said to the priest, in behalf of the meeting, That he might have liberty to make reply. He proposed to have another day appointed for a dispute; to which I said, If he did make a voluntary challenge, (which he should not say we put him upon) we, or some of us, (meaning friends) if a day and place were agreed upon, should find it our concern to answer him as well as we could. He said, he would have Mr. Keith to be with him: I told him, If he should, and meddle in the dispute, if I was there, I should reject him for reasons before assigned. When the pri

had said this and somewhat more, an elder of the Presbyterian congregration clapped him on the shoulder, and bid him sit down; so he was quiet, and then stood up George Keith, and owned he had been refreshed amongst us that day, and had heard a great many sound truths, with some errors, but that it was not the common doctrine which the Quakers preached.

I then stood up and said, I had something to say to obviate what George Keith would insinuate; for his drift was to infuse an opinion into them, that the quakers did not commonly preach up faith in the manhood of Christ; as I had done that day; I appealed to the auditory, whether any thought there was a necessity frequently to press a matter so universally received among Christians, as faith in the manhood of Christ was; yet we, as a people, had so often and clearly demonstrated our faith in the manhood of Christ, both in our testimonies and writings, as might satisfy any unbiassed person, or such who were not prejudiced against us; and we know not of any people who believe more scripturally in the manhood of Christ than we do: but inasmuch as the grace, light, and Holy Spirit, is highly concerned in the work of man's *salvation, as* well as what Christ did for us *without us, and this* being yet much a mystery to *many called* Christians, it pleases God to open *in the course of* our ministry, into the mean

and mystery thereof, and to press the latter more than the former. To which George made no reply, but began to exhibit his charges against us (as mentioned before) and said, He could prove them out of our friends books, naming George Fox and Edward Burrough, &c. He had in a paper a great many quotations out of friends' books, and a young man with him had many books in a bag, out of which, he said, he would prove the charges he was about to exhibit against us.

He was now crowded up into the gallery between me and the rail, with a paper in his hand; and I standing over him, and being taller, could see his quotations, and his paraphrases upon them, on which I told him loudly, that all the meeting might hear, That he offered violence to that sense and understanding which God had given him, and he knew in his conscience, we were not that people, neither were our friends' writings either damnable or blasphemies, as he through envy endeavoured to make the world believe, and that he would not have peace in so doing, but trouble from the Lord in his conscience. I spoke in the Lord's dreadful power, and George trembled so much as I seldom ever saw any man do: I *pitied him in my* heart, yet as Moses said once *concerning Israel*, I felt the wrath of the Lor *go forth against* him: George said, "Do

judge me;" I replied, "The Lord judges, and all who are truly one in spirit with the Lord, cannot but judge thee." So he gave over, and it appearing a suitable time to break up the meeting, friends parted in great love, tenderness, and brokenness of heart; for the Lord's mighty power had been in and over the meeting from the beginning to the end thereof, glorified and renowned be his most excellent name, now and for ever, for his mercies are many to those that love and fear him, who is the fullness of all good.

This meeting was not only for worship, but also for business, as I said to the people at our parting; it was friends' monthly-meeting, in which their poor, fatherless, and widows, were taken care of, and such other things as concern them as a people. Two friends were desired to stay, to hear what George had to say to them who remained, which said two friends gave an account to us afterwards, that George said to the people after we were gone, that the Quakers had left none to dispute with but an ass and a fool; when I heard it, I said, "Could you not have replied, an ass was once made sufficient to reprove the madness of the Prophet."

George called to see me the next day, and *said*, "*You* had the advantage of me yesterday, *for you* persuaded me to be quiet until you had

done, and then you would not stay to hear me;" neither indeed were we under any obligation so to do: I told him, I hoped that truth would always have the advantage over those who opposed it; and so we parted, but met again upon Rhode Island; the governor of which place, who was a friendly man, having heard of my intention of coming thither, ordered the deputy-governor, when I came, to have me to him, which he did; and when he saw me at the door, and after inquiry heard my name, he took me by the hand, and led me like a brother, or rather more like a tender father, into a room, setting me down by him, and then began to say, "I have heard much of you, and I desired to see you long, and am glad you are here." I finding him near me in spirit, was very open in my mind to him, and answerd him with much clearness and satisfaction. I remember he asked, whether I thought the sourness in the minds of the Presbyterians against us, was not rather healed? I told him, I did believe it was; and that our friends did but observe to walk wisely, and live up to what they professed, they would overcome it all. He said, That was the way, and there was not another comparable to it; and as he said, and I believe it was so, he had *another view in* sending for me, but to manifest *respect to* me, and to do me any service *that was in his* power: I told him, I was sens

the living God, of any I had ever yet seen in all my travels, in a religious respect.

Now to the meeting we went; George Keith, with two priests and a great many people gathered together of several professions and qualities into one body, and friends and some friendly people into another body; and as we came near to the meeting house, I stood still, and took a view of the people, and it appeared to me as if two armies were going to engage in battle. There appeared with George Keith men of considerable estates, parts, and learning, and we appeared like poor shrubs; and, under a sense of our present state, I had like to have been dismayed, and my faith had even like to have failed me; but I cried mightily to the God and Fountain of all our tender mercies, that he would look down upon us, and help us in this time of great exercise, which was not hid from him; but his penetrating eye saw, and his watchful providence attended us, blessed be his name for ever. I continued my fervent prayers and intercessions, to the Lord of Hosts, that he would arise for his great name's sake, and work for us that day, that the enemies of truth might not triumph or vaunt over us, and that none of these tender plants, which he had brought to the saving knowledge of *the truth* might be hurt.

I had on sooner thus heartily sought to the Lord, but I felt renewed strength come upon me, and the fear of man was taken away from me, and I saw evidently that truth would have the victory that day, and my faith and confidence was greatly strengthened in the Lord. These breathings forth of my spirit to the Lord were in secret without words to be heard by men, but the Lord hears and knows the distress and language of the spirit.

Being thus encouraged in myself, it arose in my heart to speak to friends before we went into the meeting-house, and I advised them to be swift to hear, and slow to speak, and that what was spoken might be in the Lord's power, for that wounds George the most, and slays that wicked and ranting spirit in him, more than all the wisdom of words without it; and let us maintain our testimony of denial against him, and endeavour to get together into one body that we may be a help and strength one to another; and let every one who knows the Lord, cry mightily unto him, that his living power and presence may be amongst us, and I believed the Lord would not suffer any to be hurt. So the meeting gathered, and immediately after, George stood up to tell us, (as before) That *he was come* in the Queen's name, to *gather Quakers* from Quakerism, to the good *old mother church*, the church of England, (o

he called it) and that he could prove out of our own books, that we held errors, heresies, damnable doctrines, and blasphemies; with a threat to look to ourselves to answer, or else the auditory would conclude, that what he exhibited against us was true. I expected some of the elder friends would say something to him, but none did; and I having a deep concern upon my mind, lest truth, or the friends of truth, should suffer through our mismanagement, and such as waited for occasion, might have an occasion administered by us against ourselves; I say, under this concern of mind, I stood up, and signified to the people what manner of man George Keith was; notwithstanding he had walked many years amongst us, yet towards the latter end of his so walking with us, he grew very troublesome, by reason of a contentious spirit which did possess him; and after much labour and exercising of patience, and extending of love towards him, in order to recover and reclaim him, all that labour of love and much forbearance would not avail, but he still persisted in the work of contention and disturbance: then he was publicly disowned, and testified against by us, as a person with whom we had no unity or fellowship. And being *thus cast out*, he became to us (agreeable to *the sayings of* Jesus Christ) as an heathen man *or a publican;* and being thus disjointed, to

expose us, what lay in his power, to all sorts of people, he chose printing against us; wherein he hath much abused us, in leaving out the explanatory parts of sentences, and coining words to make the meaning appear different from what was designed, and indeed, from what was most fair and genuine: therefore, some of our friends found themselves concerned to follow him in print, for the clearing us from what he, through envy, would have willingly fastened upon us, and to return his self-contradictions, misinterpretations, and misapplications of our writings upon himself, and to clear our own innocency, and manifest the perverseness and wickedness of his spirit; neither do we, as a people, hold ourselves to be under any obligation to follow him into foreign parts of the world, to answer his arraignments and charges, not being conscious to ourselves that we hold any thing contrary to sound and orthodox doctrine; and also knowing that what he exhibits against us, is the fruit of envy and malice, as such we reject it, and trample it under our feet; and were it not for your sakes, who are strangers to these things, we should take no further notice of George Keith, than to slight and reject him as a man that *cares* not what he says, nor is he *worthy of our notice.*

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his faithful people, and the key of true knowle
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and lead us into; without the help of w
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and forgetful in our duties towards God,
also in our love and duties one to another;
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and improved, we grow more and more fr
in every good work and word, to the glor
God, and comfort of our souls, and, as the
of the earth, help to season those who are
seasoned.

When I was in the yearly-meeting upon R
Island, there was a query concerning
friends might do, in case there should be
or tax laid upon the inhabitants for building
fortifications, and to provide men and arm
the security of the island: such a thing
then in agitation, he, who was one of the
friends concerned in church affairs, would
me give an account what we did in the like
in England; for, he said, They in that co
looked upon themselves but as the daughter
friends here in Old England as their mothe
they were willing to act consistent with
far as they could, and would know how w
there in that matter, whether we could
that tax which was for carrying on a

gainst France. I was unwilling to meddle it, as I said; but the meeting waited a con- able time for my answer, (as one told me was not willing to go forward without t last, when I could not well do otherwise nified to that large meeting, That I had d the matter debated both in superior and ior meetings, and privately, and the most ral result was this; Friends did not see an nal door opened to avoid the thing, that eing mixed with the other taxes; although friends are not so easy as they could de- neither have we any further sway in the rnment, than only giving our voices for such e concerned therein; therefore, as things ap- to me, there is a great disparity between circumstances and yours here; for you have at interest here, and a great share in the rnment, and perhaps may put such a thing voting, considering the body of friends, such as are friendly, whom you have an in- t in; therefore look not for help from the er, wherein she is not capable of helping lf, and thereby neglect your own business; mind your own way in the truth, and look ut. Friends appeared well satisfied with distinctions, and it gave me some ease, in *I had not hurt* any.

ring my stay in one of the Jerseys a great *, more* than usual, seized upon my spirit,

as I sat in a meeting, and under a sense of the same my cries ascended unto the Lord, the fountain of all tender mercies, that he would please to shew me what was the cause of that great power of darkness which did so oppress my spirit; and it pleased the Lord to shew me, that a man there had been guilty of some gross wickedness; and when it appeared clear to me, to be required of me to express it publicly, it became a very great exercise to me, and some reasonings I had, before I gave up to make it public to that large meeting of friends and other people: I laboured under it till towards the conclusion of the meeting, but finding my peace concerned very nearly in the matter, I stood up in the gallery and said, "Under a sense of some gross wickedness committed by some person not far from me, hath my spirit been borne down; which wickedness will in a short time break forth to the dishonour of truth, and grief of friends." A great man who sat in the gallery by me, started up and seated himself upon the rail of the gallery, with his eyes fixed on me, and I fastened, in the Lord's dread, my eyes on him, and said, "We have a common maxim in old England, "Touch a galled horse's back, and he will kick; and I am of the opinion, he that kicks is not clear." He got down *as fast as he could* out of my way, for he not *only prevented* me from the view of the meeting

by sitting there, but his uncleanness stood much in the way of my service.

After the meeting was over, several worthy friends expressed to me the great concern they were under, lest he should either by money, or subtilty, conceal the sin and wickedness, if such was committed; for I found there was a great fear and jealousy in the minds of friends, that something was wrong with the man, but I was till then altogether a stranger to their thoughts, and to the state of the man; yet I advised that friends should have a watchful eye over him and his family, for I told friends, my spirit was easy in what I had delivered, and I believed the evil would not be concealed. So in my return, his house-keeper had brought forth a child, and charged him with being the father of it, which he denied not: friends then asked me, what they should do in the case; I said, "Let the judgment of truth go forth against all manifest wickedness, without respect of persons, that the ever blessed truth, and such as live in it, may be kept clear and in good esteem before all men as much as may be."

Something of the like exercise I met with in a meeting in Pennsylvania, repeating several times what oppression my spirit was under, because of some yet hidden wickedness, which in a short time would be brought to light, to

the blemish of the truth, and great trouble to friends. That very evening, after the meeting, a woman little thought on by friends to be guilty of such a crime, went to a worthy friend and told him, she was the woman that had done that great wickedness I had so much complained of, and had borne such a great load because thereof; and, as the honest friend said, she wept bitterly, even in the very anguish of her soul. He came twelve miles the next day to Philadelphia to acquaint me with the matter, and ask my advice, which I gave to this effect: If friends find upon inquiry, in the proper season, that the woman continues heartily sorry, and truly penitent for what she hath done, for godly sorrow worketh repentance, and if from such a hearty and penitent sense (which is to be felt beyond words) she gave forth a paper against her wicked doings, not so much to ingratiate herself into favour, as for the clearing of truth and friends, and for the ease and peace of her own mind, and took the blame and shame to herself, then friends may pass it by; if not, friends must set the judgment of truth over manifest wickedness, as before mentioned.

I went to visit a meeting in that part called North Wales, which had not been long planted *in that place*, were there was a fine tender people, *but few* understanding English, Rowland *Ellis was my interpreter*; a good meeting it

was, and truth was over all: Some, by the interpreter, expressed their great satisfaction in our visit to that meeting, which heretofore had not been counted as friends, but since have been taken notice of, and grown into good esteem with the body of friends.

I found it much my work to be concerned in the discipline of the church, which was very low in many places, yet I found there was a willingness in many friends' minds to be helped in that needful affair, for surely it is a good fence, or a help to keep the righteous in, and hurtful and wicked things and doings out, if the same be rightly handled and extended as it ought to be, in the love and wisdom of God.

There was one thing I had like to have omitted, which happened when I was in Rhode-Island, viz. one Rogers came thither to offer (as he said) his gift in the yearly-meeting amongst friends; but they appearing in a great strait about him, although he had writ in behalf of truth's principles, and suffered imprisonment, and the taking away his wife from him, and was not so much as suffered to come to converse with his own son, but under a guard or watch which was set over him, to hear what passed betwixt them, as he told me and some other friends, which friends said was true; yet under the consideration of the matter, and clearness of

the man's conversation, friends remained in a strait what to do; and desired that I would take the matter upon me, and reason the case with him, and try if I could persuade him to be easy, and not insist upon any such thing, as to promise to receive his gift; for otherwise, he said, he would go where it would be received. I shewed him, That it was a thing impracticable amongst us, and in itself unreasonable, that we should be by any pre-engagement obliged to receive that which he might call a gift, before we heard it; if he believed he had a gift, he might speak, and, as the apostle said, we might judge; for it was not impossible but he, who was a scholar, and a wise man, and had a strong memory, might have gathered certain passages out of the Bible or other books, with what other interpretations, he might have stored up, and speak of, and call a gift, which we could not receive as a real gift of the ministry, which stands in the spirit, and in the power, and if it be such it will make way for itself, if not, we cannot receive it. So he went away, and troubled friends no more that I heard of.

I was at William Penn's country house, called Pensbury in Pennsylvania, where I staid *two or three* days, on one of which I was at a *meeting* and a marriage, and much of the other *part of* the time I spent in seeing, to my

satisfaction, William Penn and many of the Indians (not the least of them) in council and consultation concerning their former covenants, now again revived upon William Penn's going away for England; all which was done in much calmness of temper, and in an amicable way. To pass by several particulars, I may mention the following; one was, They never first broke covenant with any people; for, as one of them said, and smote his hand upon his head three times, that they did not make them there in their heads, but smiting his hand three times on his breast, said, they made them (*i. e.* their covenants) there in their hearts. And again, when William Penn and they had ended the most weighty parts for which they held their council, William Penn gave them match coats and some other things.

I observed (and also heard the like by others) that they did not, nor I suppose never do speak, two at a time, nor interfere in the least one with another that way in all their councils, as has been observed. Their eating and drinking was in much stillness and quietness.

I much desire that all Christians (whether they may be such in reality or profession only) may endeavour to imitate these people in those things which are so commendable, which may be a means to prevent loss of time and expedite business; as much as may be, endeavouring t

prevent above one speaking at a time in meetings of conference and of business.

When much of the matters were gone through, I put William Penn in mind to inquire of the interpreter, if he could find some terms or words that might be intelligible to them, in a religious sense, by which he might reach the understandings of the natives, and inculcate into their minds a sense of the principles of truth, such as Christ's manifesting himself to the inward senses of the soul, by his light, grace, or Holy Spirit, with the manner of the operations and working thereof in the hearts of the children of men, and how it did reprove for evil, and minister peace and comfort to the soul in its obedience and well-doing; or, as near as he could, come to the substance of this in their own language. William Penn, much pressed the matter upon the interpreter to do his best, in any terms that might reach their capacities, and answer the end intended: but the interpreter would not, either by reason, as he alleged, of want of terms, or his unwillingness to meddle in religious matters, which, I know not; but I rather think the latter was the main reason which obstructed him: therefore we found nothing was like to be done according to our desires in *this matter*, as the interpreter was but a dark *man, and*, as William Penn said, a wrong man *for our present* purpose.

William Penn said, he understood they owned a superior power, and asked the interpreter, what their notion was of God in their own way; the interpreter shewed, by making several circles on the ground with his staff, till he reduced the last into a small circumference, and placed, as he said, by way of representation, the great man (as they termed him) in the middle circle, so that he could see over all the other circles, which included all the earth. And we querying what they owned as to eternity, or a future state; the interpreter said, they believed when such died as were guilty of theft, swearing, lying, whoring, murder, &c. they went into a very cold country, where they had neither good fat venison, nor match coats, (which is what they use instead of clothes to cover them withal, being of one piece in the form of a blanket or bed-covering) but those who died clear of the aforesaid sins, go into a fine warm country, where they had good fat venison and good match coats: (things much valued by these natives.) I thought, inasmuch as these poor creatures had not the knowledge of God by the scriptures, as we have who are called Christians, that what knowledge they had of the Supreme Being must be *by an inward* sensation, or by a *contemplating upon* the works of God in the creation, *or probably* from some tradition handed

down from the Father to the Son, by which it appears, they acknowledged a future state of rewards and punishments; the former of which they express by warmth, good clothing, and food, and the latter by nakedness, pining hunger, and piercing cold.

I have often thought and said, when I was amongst them, that generally my spirit was very easy, and I did not feel that power of darkness to oppress me, as I had done in many places among the people called Christians.

After William Penn and they had expressed their satisfaction, both for themselves and their people, in keeping all their former articles unviolated, and agreed that if any particular differences did happen amongst any of their people, they should not be an occasion of fomenting or creating any war between William Penn's people and the Indians, but justice should be done in all such cases, that all animosities might be prevented on all sides for ever; they went out of the house into an open place not far from it, to perform their cantico, or worship, which was done thus; first they made a small fire, and the men without the women sat down about it in a ring, and whatsoever object they severally fixed their eyes on, I did not see them move them in *all that* part of their worship, while they sang a *very melodious* hymn, which affected and tendered *the* hearts of many who were spectators.

when they had thus done, they began (as I suppose is their usual manner) to beat upon the ground with little sticks, or make some motion with something in their hands, and pause a little, till one of the elder sort sets forth his hymn, followed by the company for a few minutes, and then a pause; and the like was done by another, and so by a third, and followed by the company as at the first; which seemed exceedingly to effect them and others. Having done they rose up and danced a little about the fire, and parted with some shouting like triumph or rejoicing.

I leave Pensbury, but intend, before I leave the Indians, to say something more concerning that people, which I met with near Caleb Pusy's house in Pennsylvania viz. I being walking in the wood, espied several wigwams or houses of the Indians, and drew towards them, but could not converse with them; but looking over them in the love of God, I found it to be my way, as I apprehended, to look for an interpreter, and go to them again, which I did; and when I came to them, and signified that I was come from a far country, with a message from the great man above (as they called God) and my message was to endeavour to persuade them, that they should not be drunkards, nor steal, nor kill one another, nor fight, nor commit adultery, nor put away their wives, especially for small

faults, which (as I understood) is usual with them to do; for if they did those things, the great and good man above would be angry with them, and would not prosper them, but bring trouble on them; but if they were careful to refrain from these evils, (before mentioned) then would God love them, and prosper them, and speak peace to them; or very near these words. And when the interpreter expressed these things to them in their own language they wept, and tears ran down their naked bodies, and they smote their hands upon their breasts, and I perceived said something to the interpreter; I asked what they said: he told me they said, all that I had delivered to them was good, and except the great man had sent me, I could not have told them those things. I desired the interpreter to ask them, how they knew what I had said to them was good: they replied, and smote their hands on their breasts, The good man here (meaning in their hearts) told them what I had said was all good. They manifested much love to me in their way, and I believe the love of God is to them, and all people in the day of their visitation.

Having left them, I came to a friend's house in the lower part of Pennsylvania, who was in the office of a justice of peace, and had been convinced not long before by Thomas Story: when I came into the house the man's wife was

easy, and called me a deceiver, and
er hands and said," Woe is me! I am
my husband is deceived; and what
ceivers come!" O how she lamented!
mewhat struck with the passion the
man was in; however, I said little, but
n, and after some time it rose in my
ask her, in what her husband was de-
was he, since he came amongst us, any
usband to her; if he was, it was a bad
r, was he a worse father to his children;
worse neighbour; or in any particular
which she could name, changed from
to worse, since he was convinced of
h; if not, she had no great reason to
n: if he had turned drunkard, railer,
or become a vicious man, she would
d reason to complain; but she honestly
she had nothing to charge him with.
by me and heard all our discourse,
l nothing. I told her she had made
table outcry about her husband's being
d, but had not convinced me of any
at she had received from her husband
sore complaint.
; weary, having rode a great way that day,
ny companion Richard Orm took leave
usband, and went to our rest, and saw
ore till the next day in the evening, and

when he came, I asked him for what reason he left us so long, as he knew how uneasy his wife was about us, and that we had a great want of him: He said, he had been giving notice of the meeting twenty miles one way, and two men had given notice as far, each man his way; that was six score miles in and out.

Our landlady, against we rose in the morning, had got another woman, a justice's wife, to help her to dispute with us, and overthrow us, as she hoped, but in vain for truth proved too hard for them; although the other woman charged high in the morning, and said, we were no Christians. I said, it was easier to charge than to prove; "how do you prove it?" Because, said they, "you deny the precious ordinance of Jesus Christ." I asked, if they could prove it to be such: they said, they did not question but they could. I said they should do it from plain texts of scripture, verbatim as it lies, without any inferences, consequences, or comments upon the places they insisted upon; and they agreed to it. But, in case, I told them, they should fail and not prove (as they thought they could) that ordinance to be so appointed by Christ, I hoped then they would allow us to be Christians, notwithstanding what they had charged to the contrary; and they said *they would.*

I then repeated all the preliminaries, and *asked them if* they would agree to each particu-

lar: they said they would. I desired Richard Orm to mind them, and imprint them as much as may be in his memory, for it was like enough we should have occasion to call them in question before we had done; which came to pass not long after we began: they urged the 28th of Matthew in defence of water-baptism, where Christ said to his disciples, "Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and lo I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." Water not being mentioned, the disputants were at a stand, and said, It must be implied: I shewed them, that by their agreement to the preliminaries, there were to be no inferences, but plain scripture. I told them, it was an unreasonable thing to undertake to unchristian a great body of religious people by a few inferences, which might be true, or not true. Now when we had tugged at it, and searched the New Testament a great while, they could not find what they desired, although they urged what Peter said in a certain case, "Who can forbid water, that these should not be baptized, who have received the Holy Ghost as well as we?" I shewed them, that *there was a great* disparity between a servant's *question, and* a master's command. Wh

they were even weary with searching, and could not find a positive ordination by Christ for water baptism, they gave it over, and I asked them, if they had not fallen short of the proof of what they had so boldly charged upon us in the morning. My landlady confessed, they had fallen short of their expectation; but the other was in the mind, as she said, that it might be proved: I told her, she would not prove it from any plain text of scripture.

My passionate landlady became more meek and friendly, and received the truth in the love of it; we had a good meeting the next day, and she said, if I would stay that night, I should be as welcome as her own children; but if not, she blessed the Lord for my company, and the good she had already received by me, and parted with me in much brokenness of heart; and I heard she lived and died in good unity with friends. But oh! how glad was her husband to see that great and sudden change wrought in her! it was the Lord's doing; to him be the praise now and for ever, for he alone is worthy.

I had many comfortable meetings in my travels through these provinces, and good service. We were at a yearly-meeting at Tred-*heaven in* Maryland upon the eastern shore, to *which meeting* for worship, came William Penn, *Lord Baltimore*, and his lady, with their reti-

nue, but it was late when they came, and the strength and glory of the heavenly power of the Lord was going off from the meeting; so the lady was much disappointed, as I understood by William Penn, for she told him, she did not want to hear him, and such as he, for he was a scholar and a wise man, and she did not question but he could preach; but she wanted to hear some of our mechanics preach, as husbandmen, shoemakers, and such like rustics; for she thought they could not preach to any purpose. William Penn told her, some of these were rather the best preachers we had amongst us; or near these words. I was a little in their company, and I thought the lady to be a notable wife, and withal a courteously carriaged woman. I was also in company with the governor of Virginia, at our friend Richard John's house, upon the west cliffs in Maryland, for we both lodged there one night, and I heard that he had been studious in a book against friends, called the Snake, and friends greatly desired he might have the answer, called the Switch, but knew not how to be so free with him as to offer it to him; I told friends I would endeavour to make way for it. Although he had seemed to be a man of few words, yet at a suitable interval I *said to him*, I had heard that he had *seen a book called* the Snake in the Grass; he *confessed he had*. I desired he would accept o

the answer, and be as studious in it as he had been in the Snake; which he promised he would and took the book.

There happened a passage worthy of note either in this or the preceding governor's time in Virginia, as I was credibly informed which was thus; The governor wanted a cooper to mend his wine, cyder, and ale casks, and some told him there was a workman near, but he was a Quaker; he said, if he was a workman, he made no matter what he professed; so the Quaker, such as he was, was sent for, and came with his hat under his arm: the governor was somewhat at a stand to see the man come in after that manner, and asked if he was the cooper he had sent for: he said "Yes." "Well," said the governor, "are not you a Quaker?" "Yes," replied the man, "I am so called but I have not been faithful." He then asked, "How long have you been called a Quaker?" The poor man said, "About twenty years." "Alas for you, poor man," said the governor, "I am sorry for you!"

By this we may clearly see, that such who walk most up to what they profess, are in most esteem among the more thinking and religious people; and the unfaithful and loose libertine *professors* of the truth are slighted, and I *believe will be* more and more cast out as the *unsavoury salt*, which is good for nought in

religion, and is indeed trodden under the feet of men; for a great part of the men in the world have such an understanding as to know what we profess, and also what we should do and be in many things; let us therefore walk wisely before all, and not be an occasion of stumbling, nor give offence either to Jew or Gentile, nor to the church of God, that so we may indeed be as a city set upon a hill, which cannot be hid; nay, that may not desire to be hid, but rather that the inhabitants of the earth might see our good works, and have an occasion from thence administered, to glorify the Father which is in heaven.

I having it on my mind to visit a meeting up the river called Perquimus, on the west side of the great river Choptank, and I being on the east side, Henry Hosier and some more friends set forward with me in a small boat, not in good condition with only one small sail: we set out, as we thought, in good time to reach our desired port, but when we were upon the great river (as I remember it is ten miles over the shortest way, but the manner of our crossing it made it more) the wind veered much against us, being then within about four points of our course, and it rained hard, and was very dark, so that we could scarce see one another, and the water broke so into the boat, that it was most of one man's work to heave it out, and

our company were discouraged, and most of th
very sea-sick: Henry Hosier, of whom I
the most hope for help, said, that he could
steer the boat any longer. What by the
treme darkness, the roughness of the waves, h
terousness of the wind, and hard rain, I, un
as I was, was obliged to undertake the stee
of the boat, and not without some conflict
mind, not having any certainty, from any
ward rule, what way we went, having no
and the boat being open, we could not have
light to see our compass, but my faith was in
Lord, that he would bring us to shore; an
kept the boat as near the wind as she would
and told my poor sick and helpless compan
believed that we should not perish, although
might miss of our port: but the like immi
danger, I think, I was never in before upon
water; but renowned over all be the great n
of the Lord for ever, we put into the mouth
our desired river Perquimus, as though we
seen it in the day or steered by a compass,
ther of which we had the benefit of for sev
hours.

Here we went ashore and made a great
under the river's cliff, and about midnight
moon rose, and it cleared up and froze, and
very cold: my companions falling asleep, I t
ed them over, and pulled them from the fi
it increased, and put them near as it faile

could not keep them awake; I sought logs of wood, and carried them to and minded the fire which was work enough for the remaining part of the night; but morning being come, we got into our cold icy boat, and sailed away towards the meeting. When we were come among friends, notice was given of a stranger being there, and a heavenly and sweet meeting it was, so that we thought we had a good reward for all our trouble, blessed be the name of the Lord now and for ever, for he is worthy: although he may see good to try us, sometimes one way and sometimes another, how should we know that we have any faith, if it be not tried? How shall we know that we have any true love to God, if it never be proved? The trial of the true believer's faith is more precious than gold. The excellent sayings of Job came into my mind, "Behold, I go forward, but he is not there; and backward, but I cannot perceive him: On the left hand, where he doth work, but I cannot behold him: He hideth himself on the right hand, that I cannot see him." Job. xxiii. 8, 9. And then in verse the 10th, he like a man in the true faith, saith, "The Lord knoweth the way that I take; and when he has tried me, I shall come forth as gold:" and the more vehement that the fire is, the more it destroys the dross, and the more pure

and weighty the gold is, which hath passed through the most severe fires.

I had a meeting, when in Virginia, at a friend's house, whose name was Matthew Jordan, and something which I said in the meeting, somewhat offended a young woman, a Presbyterian, and not having, as she said, a suitable opportunity while I was there, to discourse with me, being busy in her master's affairs, (for she was the friend's housekeeper) she desired liberty of her master to go to the next meeting, that there she might ease her mind to me about the offence I had given her in the first meeting; (it was something about election, and they told me what it was, but not writing it down, it went from me) and accordingly she came to the meeting, where the Lord's mighty power broke in upon us, to the tendering of many hearts, to friends' mutual satisfaction, and it proved a good day to the aforesaid young woman; her heart was as if it had melted within her, and she shed many tears, and I am satisfied went from the meeting in fear and in great joy; in fear, how to walk as not to offend Christ the Elect, which before she could talk of, but now she had met with, and he had opened her state to her: and joy, that she had met with the Messiah, the *Elect of the* Father, his choice and beloved *Son; so that* she could now say, "Where are *the wise?* Where is the scribe? Where is the

disputer of this world?" All her brisk talkative qualities were swallowed up in the feeling of the internal, enlightening presence of Christ.

When she returned to her master's (before mentioned) he asked her if she had got satisfaction: meaning, had she had any discourse with me, and was satisfied. She replied, she was satisfied. Some time after I met with her in Philadelphia, plain and truth-like, but knew not who she was at the first. The manner of the working of the truth is to humble the creature, and bring it into contrition, tenderness and fear, with true self-denial.

Now we came to ferry over the river, being, as I remember, five horses and nine people; there was Jane Pleasant, a minister and her man-servant, who rode before her upon a great horse, and high in flesh, and about the midst of the river, it being two miles over, he rose upon his hind feet, and flung himself upon the edge or gunnel of the boat, half into the river; the fall of the horse, and the motion of the other horses thereupon, caused the boat to make such sallies that it took in water, and was very likely to sink: but before he could have time to rise again, or to make any more springs, I took several young men by the shoulders, and flung them upon his neck to keep him down, and told them, as fast as I could, why I did so. Now I had to deal with the ferryman, who wa

about to strip for swimming, and said, We should all be drowned; but for his part he could swim; and was about to leap into the river, for, he said, the boat would either break or sink. I told him it was soon enough for him to swim, when he saw the boat either break or sink, and if he would not row, then I would. With much intreaty he took the oar again, and rowed us to the shore. But in our imminent danger I looked over my tender friends, (for so they appeared to me) and thought in my heart what a pity it would be, if all these were drowned! yet the thought of my own drowning never entered my mind, until I was got over the river, which was a mercy to me, and a great means to keep out disorder and confusion, which commonly attend sudden surprises and frights, or else they make people dead-hearted and almost senseless.

As I had now an occasion to observe, as well as in some imminent dangers I had seen before, where I happened to be, I find it an excellent thing to be, as much as we can, always ready, and by being frequently thinking upon death, it is not so surprising when it does come: this is a great point of true wisdom, to number our days so, as to remember our latter end. The *want of thus* contemplating and truly thinking *on what preparation* we are in to look death in *the face*, and to appear before the great judge

h quick and dead, was the cause of the
aint, "Oh that my people were wise!
hey understood this, that they would con-
their latter end!" The great remissness
h considerations among people, bespeaks
and great insensibility, and that the heart
rdened through a habit of sinning. O
might prevail with the children of men
ake. Arise, you that sleep in sin, and
ease therein, that you may come to hear
dly the call of the Son of God, that your
may not only live here to serve God, but
ay live eternally in bliss with him, is the
of my soul for the whole bulk of man-
for my life has often appeared not dear
, in comparison of the saving of the souls of
ildren of men.

ave often thought of Moses, how far he
for the saving of Israel, and how far Paul
for the saving of his kinsfolk after the
; it was a great demonstration, that these
and good men had great faith and interest
Lord, and also a very great love to his
; and such whose eyes are truly opened,
t but see it is the love of God, and love
souls of men, that constrains us thus to
ur lives as in our hands, and labour under
weary steps, and many perils by sea
land, and in the wilderness, cold, and
mes in tumults and noises, sometimes

watchings and fastings, that we have been sometimes spectacles to men; but the Lord hath given us faith and patience to bear and overcome all, as we have singly stood in his heavenly counsel, and been truly devoted to his will in all things.

Something more which I have before omitted occurs to my memory: when I was in that part of Virginia towards North Carolina, to visit friends, a very great mist arose, and we went wrong until the guides were so far lost, that they confessed, they knew not east from west, nor on which hand we had left the road, although it was in the fore part of the day, but neither wind or sun to be felt or seen; then I told them, I would try what I could do, if they did but know what quarter we should go to: they said, we should go towards the south: then I brought out my little compass, which I had made before I left England, and took it in my hand and steered by it, till we all came into the road; for that inward sense I had did persuade me, that we were to the westward of the road, so leaning a little to the eastward of the south point, we came right as before, and when so, the guides much rejoiced, and said, I was fitter to be guide in a wilderness country *than they*. My compass was not so big as *a tailor's thimble*, which had often been of use *to me, and* others with me.

Now the time came on for my leaving all my near and dear friends in those parts, and I embarked for the Islands the 6th of the ninth month, 1702, with my companion James Bates, on board of a sloop, Samuel Salter, master, for Barbadoes, and we put into Burmudas in our way: soon after we landed, being on the 21st of the same month, we were sent for by governor Bennett to come before him, and being near his door, a man came and clapt me on the shoulder, as we were walking on our way, and said roughly to us, "You must go before the governor," and seemed to hasten us: I replied meekly, "I am willing to go as fast as I can, but I have been very sea-sick, and can go but weakly:" the man fell from his roughness, and bid us take time, and carried himself very civilly to us, and put us by a man who was keeping centry at the governor's door with his musket on his arm, and when we were come into a large room the man left us, and we staying a while, I began to reason in myself, "What if the governor should be a rigid man, and be severe to us, and either confine or punish us?" But I said in my heart, "Lord, thou that knowest all things, knowest that I have not only offered up my liberty, but life also, for thy name and gospel's sake," and immediately all fear and reasonings about human power were taken away from me.

I being not well, and weary with walking from the ship, sat down to rest myself unbidden, when there came a friendly well carriaged young woman, who I supposed to be a servant, and spoke kindly to us; I desired her to do as much for us as to give us something that was small to drink, for we were very thirsty, and had been much out of health, and were not well recovered since we came from the sea, having had rough weather: she brought us wine and water, and a thing to mix them in; so taking most of a glass of water, and a very little wine poured into it, I drank and was very well refreshed. By this time the governor called us into an upper room, and as I came near to the top of the stairs, going but faintly, for reasons before given, the governor put forth his hand and reached to take hold of mine, and like a tender father drew me up, and led me along towards a great window, and stood and looked on me and said, He believed he knew what I was, and my business too. I replied, It might be so, and asked, if he was the governor of that place: he said he was, and bowed his head. I then spoke to him in the love of God and said, "Thy countenance bespeaks moderation, and the apostle said, let your moderation *appear to* all men, for the Lord is at hand;" *and it was* with me to say to him, "The Lord *of heaven* and earth bless thee and all thine!"

He bade us sit down, and gave us each a glass of wine, and enquired from whence we came; I told him, My home was in Old England, but it was long since I was there; my companion's was in Virginia. He wanting to know the affairs in Europe, I told him, There was a merchant belonging to the same ship that we did, who was lately come from Europe, and I thought was a man of parts and memory, and well versed in the affairs of those parts of the world, and when we came into this place he was with us. The governor then sent for him, and when he came, he answered his expectation in resolving all or most of his questions, for the knowledge of the news appeared to me to be the young man's talent. Having done with, and dismissed him, he said, He must now have some discourse with us: then rose up all the great men who were with the governor, to make way that I might come near him. I said, If it was the governor's mind, I had rather sit where I was, for I sat well in the air, and that suited well with my present weakness. So he bade them all sit down, and they did so.

"Now" said he, "I want to know the reasons why you, as a people, where you live, do not assist the king and country with men and arms, for their and your own defence and safety against all that may attempt or endeavour you

hurt", I replied, "The most convincing reasons I have to offer to the governor are, we have neither precept nor example from Christ, or his apostles, to use the sword to hurt one another withal." "No?" said he, "what then means that saying of our Saviour, when he bade him that had not a sword, sell his cloak or coat and buy one?" I replied, "one of his disciples answered and said, Lord, here are two; Christ said, It is enough. Now how two swords can be enough to answer for a general precept, I leave the governor and all these men to judge." So after a little pause he said, "In case you was assaulted by robbers that would break your house, and take what they could get from you, or upon the highway, and would take your purse or horse, what would you do in that case?" I replied, I could not directly answer what I should do in such a case, because through the Lord's mercy I was never yet so assaulted; but it appears most likely, that I should endeavour to keep my house from being broken up, and yet withal be tender of men's lives; and as to the other assault, inasmuch as it is well known I do not provide any outward weapon for my defence, neither sword, pistol, nor any such like weapon, therefore I must *rely upon the* Lord for protection and help, who *is able to rescue* me out of the hands of all such *ungodly men*: or if he does not, I must endea-

vour to bear what the Lord suffers such to do unto me. The governor said, "You say well: for inasmuch as you have not provided any thing for your defence, you have nothing to flee to but the Lord; you say very well;" and said, he hoped what he had offered had not given any offence. I replied, it was so far from that, we were glad he was so free with us; yet if he pleased to dismiss us, we should be willing to be going, for night came on. He said, There were some of our friends would be glad to see us; I replied, I understood there were some further on the island that did own us, but how much they were of us I could not tell, for I had not seen any of them. He asked Whether we had a mind to go by water or by land, for he had a boat, and a couple of hands should carry us where we would; or if we had a desire to ride, he had two horses, we might take them and keep them as long as we staid upon the island. I endeavoured to persuade him to let us go without troubling himself any further, for I was sensible of his good will and love to us, and having his countenance, was more than we expected, and as much as we desired. He still urging to know, after what manner we would choose to go; I told him, I was very sensible of his generosity to us who were strangers, and if he would be easy and let us pass, we had wherewithal to defray our necessary charges, either by water o

land, as would answer best with our conveniency He pressed upon us to accept of his offer, for he said, he did not do it in compliment to us: then seeing no way but to accept of his generous offer, I said, riding at present would be much more acceptable to me, considering how I had been lately fatigued at sea, of which I was not yet well. He immediately gave orders for the horses to be brought to the door, which being done, and we having notice thereof, I rose up and made an offer to go, and the governor likewise rose up and came and took me by the hand, and so we went down the large stairs into the great room where we first entered in the Lord's dread and holy fear. Here I had resigned my life and all to the Lord who gave it, and my life at that time, as at many other times, was not dear to me for Christ's sake; and being thus resigned, I felt the love of God, and a measure of that life was manifest, in which I had dominion over men, bonds, and over death, and the power of darkness; blessed be the Lord for ever.

Now coming to take horse, I looked out at the door, and saw two horses, and a man holding them beyond the pavement, and the centry as before in the street, and the horse next the door, *which I supposed* I was to ride on, had a saddle *on the back* of it, set about with three rows of *shining silver* lace, I thought about two inches

broad on each; the governor holding me by the hand, and looking in my face, it is not unlikely but he might think, as I used to say, I looked very sheepishly at it: he said to me, "I am apt to think you are not used to ride upon such a saddle as this;" I told him, If he could let me have one more like myself (plain) without much trouble, I should like it the better, but if not, I could ride on it, I thought, without much straitness, in case of necessity. He answered, he could not, for horses and saddles too were scarce on that island, for the one was that which he rode on, and the other was for his man; but he said, he would tell me how to prevent all this, if, said he, you get over the inlet of water; though he questioned it, because the wind blew very strong in the mouth or inlet of the river, but, he said, he spoke not this to hinder our taking his horses, but if we got over, he said, we should come to Richard Stafford's, an old judge of life and death, and might ask there for the cover for his saddle, which ties on with little straps at each corner and hides all this, and then it will be like yourself: but if the ferryman says he cannot carry the horses over, what man soever you meet, white or black, if, capable, tell him he must bring me my horses, he dares to do no other but bring *them*; and be sure you take no *further thought for them*: and if we met with *any thing in his liberty* that might trouble us

let him but know and he would help it, if it lay in his power; and so with his blessing on us, we took leave of him, and came to the water-side, but could not get the horses over, therefore sent them back again, and intended to have staid at the ferry-house all night, but the boat was about going over as we lighted; and notice being got some way or other to the judge's ear, there were two strangers on the other side of the water, he had sent a boat and a couple of men for us, who said, we must go, for the judge said, he could not sleep until we came; "whatsoever the matter is we know not," said they; so we went, after asking, if they at the ferry-house had been at any cost or trouble on our account in providing supper, for as yet we had not eaten any thing since we landed; the people said No, they had not done any thing which we should pay for. It grew dark and very stormy, and the sea broke over the boat, so that some of us were forced to hold our coat laps one to touch another on the weather-side, to keep out the breakers of the waves, that they might not fill the boat; and we came safe over to the judge's house, and no sooner got into the passage but his friendly wife met us, and asked us, if we were the strangers her husband had sent for? I said, "We are *strangers.*" She bid us follow her to the judge, *and we did so.* When we came to him he rose up, *and took the* candle in his hand and said," Are you

the strangers that I have sent for? I said, "Whom "thou mayest expect I know not, but we are strangers." When he had looked well in my face, he set down the candle and said, "What a mercy is this, that the Lord should send men from I know not where, in his love to visit me!" and took me in his arms and kissed me; and I said to him, "The Lord of heaven and earth bless thee;" and we shed many tears and wept together.

As I entered the house, I felt the love of God, and his glory, I thought, shone in and filled every room as I passed through them, and I said, "Peace be to this place," and I felt it was so. He inquired of our travels, and from whence we came, of which we gave him a brief account; he also asked, If I knew any thing of the family of Staffords at Lahorn near Haverford-west in South Wales: I told him all I knew about them, both of the dead and of the living; with which he was pleased, and said, he had not heard of them many years, and that family were his near kindred.

Now as the judge was somewhat troubled with the gout, I found his usual bed-time drew near, and I made an offer to go away lest I should discommode him, yet he appeared unwilling to part with us; but considering his own ailments, and our early rising in the morning, he at length consented; but before we parted, his wife asked leave of him to go with us on

the morrow to the meeting, to which he r
assented if he was not worse of his diste
and then ordered how we should ride, and
negro should go, not only to help his wife
also, and take our horses when there was
sion, and do any thing he could for us; a
deed so he did, and appeared to me to ru
feet without much trouble, being a lively
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on the island, and understood (it is like) mor
the state of things there than the governo
be capable of, he being but a young ma
though he appeared to be a wise man, a
William Penn said, came of an ancient an
nourable family in England, which he knew
well, whose name was Bennett. Afterw
told William Penn how it had fared with
that Island: and especially the kindness
two chief men in power there, and William
wept, and said, he had not heard any

of this nature, that he had been so much affected with, as he remembered these many years.

Now we left the judge until the morning, and got some small refreshment, it being late, and I had been faint for several hours for want of eating, but the Lord's heavenly power bore me up over all, so that at times I felt no want of any thing: Oh! renowned over all be the name of the mighty God, now and for ever. We went to bed, and when morning came, I with my companion were stirring early, having eight miles to the meeting, and it being in the latter end of the ninth month, we were willing to be in such time, that we might give some notice to the people. I was walking in our lodging room early, and the judge's wife came to the door and asked, If she might speak with us; I said, She might: then she came in and said, She had a message from her husband to us; I queried, What it was; she said, He desired we would come and pray for him before we went away. I desired She would favour us so much as to lay before her husband something which I had to say, and she promised she would: "Well then, tell the judge, that if he will suffer us to come into his room, and sit down and wait upon the Lord, as our manner *is in such* a case as this, if it please *the Lord to move us* by his Holy Spirit to pray, *we may; but if not,* let not the judge take it

amiss, for we are willing to be at the Lord's disposing in all things." She went, and I believe, as she said, laid the matter before him, as I had delivered it to her; for she was a woman of a good understanding, and came back again to us in a very little time; I asked, What the judge said; she replied, he said, "Let the men take their own way, and whether they pray for me or not, I believe they are men of God." So after some little respite, we being brought to the judge's bed-side, sat down and waited upon the Lord, who was pleased in his love, and by his mighty power to break in upon us, and also opened my mouth in his gift of grace and of supplication, in which gift ardent and fervent cries went up to the Lord of heaven and earth, that he would send health and salvation to the judge, and also to his family, and to all people far and near, that all every where might repent, and come to the knowledge of the truth and be saved. The judge wept aloud, and a mighty visitation it was to his family, and especially to himself and his tender wife. We left the judge in a fine frame of spirit, and no doubt near the kingdom, having his blessing and earnest request, That when we could reach his house we would not fail to come to it, for we were very welcome; and *I found* and felt it so, and it was mostly our *lodgings; his* wife and foot page went with us to all *the meetings*, except one, while we were on t

sland, which was about two weeks, in which time
ve had many good opportunities among a sober
ehaved and well carriaged people, amongst
hom we met with no opposition, but had large
uiet meetings.

When we were clear, as we thought, of the sland, we went to take our solid leave of the overnor, acknowledging his civility and gene-osity to us strangers, and I told him and the udge, That they would not want their reward or what they had done to us, and such who hould take their lives as in their hands, and ome in the love of God to visit those remote arts of the world, which we durst not have ndertaken if we had not believed it required us by the Almighty, and our peace concerned it, as also the glory of God, and the good the children of men; these are the motives hose our great undertakings: or words to purpose. So we parted in much love, these great men, especially the judge, with on his face, as also his tender and friendly who had been very serviceable to us in or-g meetings, and making way for us, and like her in all the island, that we met with-being given up to that service, for the raging truth and friends in what she was e of.

r invited to a friend's house to dine one *en we were* sat down at the table, the

woman of the house desired that one of us would say grace; from which I took an occasion to shew her, and several more in the company, who appeared not much more grown in the truth than she, That since we had been a people, we had both believed (and accordingly practiced) that true prayer was not performed without the help of the Holy Spirit of God, and no man could pray aright and acceptably without it; nor was it in man's power to have it when he pleased; therefore it is man's place to wait upon the Lord for the pouring forth of this gift upon him, and also to know whether it be required of him to pray so as to be heard by man, or only to pray secretly, so as to be heard of God, as did Hannah, and many more have done; which as they do aright, no doubt, but as Christ said to his disciples, their Father will hear them in secret, and reward them openly; or to this effect: with which they all appeared satisfied.

We then went on board our vessel, and set sail with a fair wind for the east end of the island in order for Barbadoes; but soon after we got out to the mouth of that inlet where we arrived first, the wind came full against us, and we put in there again; and the master, although not *called one* of us, said, in a friendly manner, "*What is* the matter now? This is along of *you, Mr.* Richardson," (as he was pleased

ll me, although I often shewed my dislike to) "you have something to do yet upon the land", I said "I know not of any thing;" at he seemed positive, and withal said, If the ind came fair at midnight he would call, if I as willing, if not, he would stay as long as I leased. I said, I knew not of any thing to inder, but he might call as soon as the wind ime fair. So we parted, only giving him an count that we intended to go for the judge's ouse. It was late in the evening when we got ere, and the judge was gone to bed; but his ife was up, who lifted up her hands with ore than ordinary surprise, and much joy, and id, she was always glad to see me, but never ore than now: I said, "Why so?" She then egan to tell, how that since I went away, there d been a man with the judge, who had in- nsed him against me all that ever he could, d said, He knew me in England, and that I as broke, and came into those parts to preach r a living. I asked, what her husband said all that? She said, his answer was to the an, that he believed I was no such person, t an honest man; yet the accuser seemed very sitive. I said, it would be well if this man uld be brought with me to the judge's face, at he might be convinced, not only of the *n's ignorance of* us as a people, but of me in *ticular, and his* envy against me be made

known: upon which I opened to her the
of such journeys and services, how we pro
ed, and how the meetings were constitut
which we did so proceed, and from w
we had certificates, from monthly, quar
or meetings of ministers to which we belo
and from friends in the several province
islands where we travelled, if we desired
many of which I could shew the judge, if
would admit; but she said, Lest we shou
called away in haste, she craved to see
of those certificates; I shewed her them,
ning at the first, wherein friends of Kelk,
Bridlington, monthly meeting in York
to friends in America, shewed not only
full unity with this my present journey
also with my service for the truth, and co
sation in the same, where I had lived
travelled: and that I had settled my ou
affairs to friends satisfaction, under many
variously written.

When this great and wise woman saw th
said, It was enough: but I shewed her othe
tificates from divers places, wherein frien
signified sufficiently their unity and satisf
with me, I likewise informed her, that if
any man, not approved by us as a minist
take upon to impose his preaching upon an
were strangers to him, such as knew him
care to acquaint the churches therewith

ntions could be known, that no impostor
ht do any hurt; all which she admired, and
, she had never heard so much before,
her did she think there had been such
llent order in the world amongst any
ple.

Having thus acquainted her with our order
discipline, and afterwards informed her of
cause of our unexpected return, I renewed
proposal of having my accuser before the
e; she told me, she had good place with her
band, and would endeavour to obtain it; and
rdingly, after talking with him, she let me
w, that the judge expressed his readiness to do
any service which lay in his power, and was
pinion my accuser durst not face either him
ne in that affair; but that if the wind con-
ed against us, he would try to find him out,
bring him, which might be of service; but
ne wind favoured, she thought I might be
to go; as indeed I was, and the more so,
sidering that our captain Salter, who lived
the judge on the same island, had shewed a
t deal of patience and good disposition to
vard for about two weeks, yet would gladly
one; so about midnight we were called to go
oard the ship, for the wind was fair if we were
ly; I replied, "We come quickly:" and so
did, and took leave of all we saw of the fami-
nd remembered our dear love, with gratefu

acknowledgments to the judge, for all his civility and kindnesses he had done to us, with reasons why we could not see him, for he had been afflicted for some time with the gout, and was now fallen into some rest, and we going very early away, were not at our own disposal.

I admired the Lord's good providence in all this, and there was something of a reach from the same watchful Providence to order that to be put into my certificate which did so fully remove that slur this enemy would have fastened upon me, (*i. e.*) That I had broke in England, and could not pay my debts, and therefore had come into these remote parts of the world, where I was unknown, to preach for a livelihood; but the contrary fully appeared, that I was known, and well beloved too, and had effects to discharge any just demand upon me, blessed be the worthy name of the Lord now and for ever.

Now I may say something of our affairs upon the sea in this voyage: When Captain Salter had taken us in passengers at Philadelphia for Barbadoes, it being a time of war, and people somewhat afraid of shipping goods, He said, he was to have two honest Quakers passengers, and he did not fear being taken by privateers, nor pirates. I was troubled at his confidence in us, *and told him* so, and that it was much if the *Lord did* not suffer us to be taken, that he *might see* men were not to be depended upon,

but that we ought to depend upon the Lord alone for protection and deliverance; however, in much less time than we expected, goods came, and we were loaded and gone. We had rough weather before we came to Barbadoes, I have given an account of Bermudas, especially about the tropic of Cancer we had very high winds, and I was extremely sea-sick, and so was my companion, and I could eat little, but was treated with remarkable civilities by the captain; for in and about that latitude there are fish not unlike herrings, which fly from wave to wave, and by dipping their fins or wings in the water, they will fly a great way, especially when they are chased by fishes of prey, and almost every morning there were of those fishes found on the ship's deck; and the captain often said, as his manner was, "Mr. Richardson, these are sent for you, or for your breakfast, and seeing it is so, I will dress them myself, for I know," said he, "my cook is so greasy you can hardly eat of his cookery;" which was very true, and therefore he would wash his hands, and lay a clean napkin on his arm, and tell me, he would dress me my breakfast in the best fashion he could: I asked him why he would put himself to so much trouble; he said, he never waited on a man in all his life with so much pleasure, and if I were going into any *country where he* was going, I should not

pay any thing for my passage; so much respect he shewed to me.

Now it happened in the course of this voyage when we were within a few leagues of Barbadoes, one morning early, as soon as day appeared, he that was aloft (upon the watch to look out, as the manner of mariners is, especially in the time of wars and danger) espied a ship, which he and the rest of our most knowing men supposed to be a Turkish frigate, of considerable strength; however, it was a great vessel, and appeared to have a great many guns; when we first saw her, she appeared to be within gun shot. But oh, what a surprize and fright our ship's crew were in! I had not often seen the like. Our vessel being deep loaded, although a good sailor, was less than that which chased us, and to run for it appeared the only way for us to escape, hauling as close to the wind as we could, to keep the sails full; and the vessel being stiff with its great burthen, endured sail well, and indeed they crowded so much sail, that I told them I feared they would bring the rigging by the board; so thus we laboured until noon, and then our captain had lost all his confidence, in the Quakers, and said, "We shall be taken, for the ship has gained upon us for several hours, and we have done what we can, and are all spent." I walked upon the main deck under no small concern.

of mind, and truth rose, and I found it open in the truth, that we should not be taken; the captain said, binding it with some asseverations, "We shall certainly be taken." I said, "No, we shall not, unless by our mismanagement." "Alas" said he, "you are such a man as I never met withal; do you not see the frigate, or Salleeman," for that he called her, "is just going to fire a broadside at us, opening the gun-ports, and laying the ship broadside upon us, and levelling at her as well as they can?" and indeed, our captain, although he was a stout man, yet appeared very ghastly and dead hearted, and said to me, in a tone which bespoke both affliction and trouble "Go into my cabin, or somewhere under the deck, for they will fire immediately;" and that where I walked I could hardly escape either the shot or the rigging falling upon me. I said, "They will not fire;" and desired him to be easy, for we should come to no damage by that ship. Well then, he asked, what they should do, for the enemy was just upon us: I said, I would fetch them a bottle or two, or more of my best brandy, and they should take as much as might do them good, but have a care of more, and ply away a while, and you will see they will fall back and we shall leave them. The captain said, Although there was no human probability of escaping, yet, for my sake, they would try; and to work the

went: I think I never saw men on board of any ship work like them for some hours, and we soon perceived we outsailed them, and by the time it began to be dark, we had left them considerably.

Now all fire and light was forbidden, except what could not be avoided, and all noise; and a council was held, to consult what way to steer, whether the nearest or most common way for the island, or about; for it was reasonable to conclude the adversary would way-lay us, if he could, before we came to the island; and the captain said, what I said in the case should be done; after some deliberation, I told him, I was most easy in steering the nearest course, which we did, and saw our adversary no more.

We came to the island next day in much joy, that we had escaped so imminent a danger, but I was very ill in a fever when I landed, which had been growing upon me for several days, this being the sixth day of the week, and the 18th of the 10th month, I was so poorly, that several thought I must die; but I stood resigned in the will of God, whether to die or live. The first day being come, I went to the meeting, though with great difficulty, being very weak, where I sat under more than usual exercise, reasonings, and conflict of spirit for some time, about my present condition, which was weak and low, and in my own apprehensions,

nlikely to be of any service, notwithstanding l the troubles and hazards of the sea, and rob- ers, and other jeopardies in coming here, I as now thus disabled, and laid by as useless. These things were an occasion to me to consi- er, whether I had not missed my way in omething or other. Many particulars were rought to my mind, whether I had discharged yself faithfully where I had been. And when I ooked back, and took a view of my past travels nd services in the work of the ministry and iscipline of the church, my conduct and whole onversation, I saw nothing but I was clear of he blood of all men; as also clear and well atisfied both as to the time of my coming, as ell as to the coming itself, unto this island. here appeared yet two things in my way; first, this place should be my grave, such as might ot watch over me with the best eye may say, If he had gone at the Lord's command, no oubt but he would have brought him back gain;" and secondly, as I had two little children England, if I finished my course here, they ould be left fatherless and motherless; and said before the Lord, "Let not my end ring dishonour to thy great name, nor any lemish to the truth which I have loved, and boured *for the promotion* of, from my child- ood."

When I had thus, or to this purpose, app
to the Lord, I felt great quietness and resign
of mind; and as I thus sat, a friend well th
on by several, began to speak in the me
and it opened in my mind, that he wa
wholly redeemed from having some thou
that elementary water had not yet ende
service; I mean in point of dipping: I
have shut it out, for the man appeared a
zealous man; and I being altogether a stra
could not remember I had heard of his
yet the matter continued, and I thought
my own satisfaction, I might ask him the
tion: if he was a right spirited friend, he
not be hurt; if he was not, he stood in
of help, or at least it was high time for fr
to have a more perfect knowledge of him.
I leave this awhile, and return to the
part of the meeting, which was very remark

During my sitting as before, under
weakness of body, yet quiet in mind, the
virtue or heavenly power of Christ sprung
my inward man like healing and suppling
which so effectually helped me every way
I could say feelingly and experimen
Miracles are not ceased: for I was
beyond my own expectation, and all other
knew my weak state, to give testimony
glorious coming and manifestation of Ch
power, spirit, life, light, and grace,

help, health, and salvation of all the children of men who receive, believe in, and obey his spiritual knocks, reproofs, and heavenly calls in the soul, without any lessening to his humanity. Great cause have I, with all the living, to love, value, honour, and reverence the great and mighty name of him who hath helped and healed, by sending his eternal word of living power into our hearts.

Returning with other friends to my quarters from this good meeting, not to be forgotten by me, came the before-mentioned friend to see me; and I having, as I told him, a desire to speak privately with him, he replied, There were none there but his good friends, and I might speak my mind. I told him, What I had to say related chiefly to himself, and in such a matter as he might not be willing to have it exposed; but he would not hear, and said, I might speak it there. I desired he would not take an offence at what I had to say, for I did suppose it to be a secret to all there but himself; and then I said, "The matter is, when thou wast speaking in the meeting, it sounded in the ear of my soul as if one had said, This man (meaning thee) is not wholly redeemed out of a belief in John's ministration of water, as not having done its work. Now the matter is before thee, thou knowest whether what I received be true or false: in the first place I en-

quire for my own satisfaction." His answer, if it may be called one, was as followeth; he said, "The disciples of Christ, when they baptized with water, knew that it was the mind of their great Master that they should so baptize:" I said, "I know not that any of the apostles did ever say so much as thou wouldest insinuate; for both by what Peter and Paul say, it appears very natural to be the mind of Christ, only to condescend to so much as was done by the apostles in that of water, because of the people's weakness; and no question but the Jews were very much settled in the belief of John the Baptist's dispensation of water to repentance, and also of the circumcision, and purifying, and many other things used among that people. Now Peter, when the converts were grown stronger in the faith and in the grace of God, told them, 'It is not the putting away the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience towards God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ;' and Paul, although he did once in condescension circumcise Timothy, yet told the people at another time, that 'Neither circumcision nor uncircumcision availeth any thing, but a new creature;' and if they were circumcised, Christ would profit them nothing; and he also thanks God, he baptized no *more than* Crispus and Gaius, and the *household of* Stephanus; besides these, he knew not *that he had* baptized any other, for Christ sent

him not to baptize, but to preach the gospel: and I am, as I said to the friend, of the prophet's mind, when he said, The elements should melt as with fervent heat: if the gospel-power be not this fervent heat, I know not what is, nor what is able to melt away the elements." But I further said, If he was a Baptist, he should deal plainly and honestly with friends, and tell them what he was, and not preach one thing, and keep such reserves to himself.

Friends admired, and said, They had not the least thought of any such thing by him; so he said, He would not fall out with me. I told him, I was as much for peace as he was, but at the same time I would have us to mind that we were sound in the faith, and preachers of the gospel, and not go back again into the beggarly elements, for what is all in comparison of the love of God in Christ Jesus?

I had good service and great satisfaction upon this island, although I found truth so low, that it might then be truly said as formerly, "By whom shall Jacob", or the true seed, "arise," which is, in our apprehensions but small, and much pressed down with the many things that are hurtful, especially by the love of money, pride, and forgetfulness of God?

I was invited on board a great transport ship, *whereof one* Reed was master, who remembered *me when* I was but young, and was travel

ling to or near Scarborough; he was loving to me, and several friends who were with me, and I had good service on board.

There was also on board a French Protestant, now a captain of the English transport soldiers, bound for Jamaica: he lodged at John Grove's and was a very civil man, and said, If I would go with Captain Reed (who offered, if I was going, to carry me to Jamaica free) he would wait on me if I was sick, or ailed any thing; and would gladly have had my company: I acknowledged both their generosity and civility to me, and so I took leave of them, and of the noble captain Salter, who I have had occasion both to mention and to love, who took his solid leave of me, and wept like a child, and said openly in the hearing of many, That he never loved a man so well before, and though he did not want business, yet, for my sake he would serve my friends what lay in his power; or near those words.

I find, as we live and walk in truth, there is an inward witness which God hath placed in the hearts of men that is reachable, except in such who are arrived to a great degree of hardness and insensibility, and so have little sense or perceivance of good, either in themselves or *in others, which* is a deplorable state, and much *to be lamented.* Oh what grief of heart and *spirit it hath been* to me, to hear and see the

vickedness of some! If such wickedness was as reat a trouble to them who acted it, as it was o me, I have thought they would soon grow veary of it.

Now I left the island, and embarked on oard a ship, John Griffith master, bound for Bristol, in Old England, and went to sea with ome East-India ships that had put in at Barbaloes, having a ship of war or two for their convoy. After we were got to sea, they had so nuch drinking and carousing that we grew veary of staying with them, and after some onsideration, the captain, who was a friend, eft them, and came safe to England.

In our passage we had some rough weather ear the tropic, which I mentioned before, and he men and captain being much disordered vith watching and hard labour, as I remember, or eight and forty hours night and day, a calm nsuing, the captain desired me to take his lace for his watch, and mind the helmsman, and ee that he made straight steerage; but, alas! e was so sleepy, that it was next to impossible to keep him awake. I walked on the deck, nd had overmuch work to mind the compass, nd the helmsman too, for a fine breeze of wind ame on, and all of a sudden a very unusual fear ell on me, and I looked into the sea, and *eheld it appeared* to turn blue, and as far as *could discern* to windward, I saw white caps

or the water-freckle; on seeing which, through fear, more than any great skill, I stamped with my foot as though I would have broke the deck. Out came the captain, but what with fear and sleep he could scarce hit the door out of the cabin; but when he was got upon the deck, he stamped and called out all his hands, and bid them lower and furl the sails with speed, or else we were all dead men, for here is a hurricane just upon us: and no sooner was all made snug as well as could be, (as the seamen phrase it) but the wind blew so, that we thought it would have turned the bottom of the ship upward: the like I never saw; and, as the captain said, we had not one minute to spare of being cast away, according to all human probability; and, as the seamen term it, it was such hurry-durry thick weather, that we could scarce see any thing a hundred yards, which violent weather held for about an hour, in which time we drove by a vessel, and were so near her, that I thought I could have flung a stone aboard: our ship's crew were sore afraid, and looked upon her to be a robber; her rudder was lashed or tied up, and the men were all gone off the deck, but our mariners were so affrighted, that they thought they would set some sail and follow us; for no sooner were we past this ship but the weather grew better, and away we ran in hazard of bringing

the masts by the board, but through the Divine Providence of him that is Lord over all, both sea and land, we escaped, and came safe into Cork in Ireland, where the master lived, and rode there for some time, and then weighed for Bristol, intending for the yearly-meeting there.

We had rough weather in crossing the channel, before we came into the Severn, where our sailors being afraid of being pressed, launched the boat, and ran away into Cornwall, leaving but four on board to bring the ship up the river. We saw a pinnace, having in it a lieutenant with a crew of pressed men, to press more if they could find them, and our master called on me, and desired I would put on my best clothes, and come to him, and so I did, and he set me on his right hand: by this time up comes the lieutenant and asked for my men, taking me for the master; I told him, They had launched the long boat and were gone, and we could not hinder them, they being the strongest party; at which he appeared very much enraged, and seemed as though he would have struck at me. I told him calmly, he had more need pity than be angry with us, for if there should be a gale of wind, we were in great danger of all perishing for want of hands, for I shewed him what force we had, viz. James Bates, whom I did not then call my companion, nor John Griffith

captain, the cabin-boy and myself, were all the men on board. But he asked, What for a man that was who sat beside me? I told him, He was a man sufficiently secured against the press: Then the rough man fell, and said, I looked like an honest man, and he would take my word and not search for men: and then the lieutenant and I parted very friendly.

I write not this as a thing I approved, but disliked; but being taken at unawares, had not time to shun it, (as before mentioned) unless I had exposed my friend, the master of the ship; although I neither said nor did, that I know of, any thing worse than what thou seest here written; I told the captain, I thought he was a great coward, and had exposed me to danger to save himself.

Wind and weather favoured us, we came in due time to Bristol yearly-meeting where I met with William Edmundson, and was truly glad to see him, with many more at that place; but my companion falling sick, I was made willing to leave him and travelled to London, with John Watson of Ireland, and a sweet spirited man he was; we got to London yearly-meeting, where I discharged myself of what I had upon my mind, and came away in peace, and in *the feeling* of the love of God.

John Haydock and I came from London together, and had meetings in our way to York

yearly-meeting, where I was glad to see my home-friends, and to enjoy the love of God once more with them; for this is our principal crown and kingdom, in this world, to enjoy the favourable countenance of the Lord, and one another in his living and internal presence; and when I looked back upon all the mercies and deliverances I had received from the mighty God of heaven and earth, seas, and rivers of water, whose hand made all, and whose eye and watchful providence attends all, and is over all, my soul was filled with thanks and praises to the great and most excellent name of Him who lives for ever, and hath helped my soul to overcome many strong temptations, and hath borne up my head under many deep afflictions and tribulations, renowned for ever be his holy name.

I came home the 18th of the Fourth Month, 1703, and found my children well; and now I was under a thoughtfulness how to walk and demean myself so, as that I might be preserved near the Lord, and in due reverence and true fear before him; that inasmuch as I found there was something of holiness unto the Lord imprinted or engraven upon the fleshly table of my heart, that now in this time, when I was not so particularly and immediately concerned in the like daily travel on truth's account, I might not lose the savour, relish and sensation of heavenly things. Some will read me here, in this short

survey I have been taking of my present state and thoughtfulness, that if I could not make it better, I might not make it worse, either in doing or not doing any thing that might prove a hurt to me; for a vessel had better be laid by, if it can be spared, than used to its hurt. Now in this careful and watchful frame of mind, I have found preservation from time to time to this day, by retaining the salt of the kingdom in the soul or the inward man, which is of a preserving quality, with which the vessel is, and can only be kept fit for the Master's use: if we lose this, the creature soon grows out of order and unfit for the Master's use. Read and consider these things in time, whilst thou hast the prize in thine hand, and time to do, and receive good at the hand of Him who is truly full of good, and is all good: to Him be the offerings of praise and renown now and for ever.

Whilst I remained at home, as my usual manner was, I attended first-day, and week-day, and monthly-meetings, as also quarterly and other meetings for the service of truth, and visited many meetings up and down in the country, and had good service and much satisfaction in being given up to the service of truth; *but did not* see it convenient (as my children *were well* placed) to settle to keep a family, *until my* way appeared clear to marry, which

did now draw on, and after I had been near seven years a widower, I married Anne Robinson, who descended of a substantial family at Hutton in the Hole, in the parish of Lestingham, not far from Kirby-moorside, in Yorkshire.

We had not been married much above two years, before my wife began to appear in the public work of the ministry; and indeed very comfortably and acceptably to friends, and she grew in understanding both of the discipline of the church of Christ, and also in further knowledge in the work of the living ministry, &c. And about that time it came upon me to visit friends in most parts of the northern counties in England; and some small time after my return, I had a concern to visit friends in several parts of the southern counties, Thomas Beedal, being my companion, who grew in the truth, and also in the ministry: we had many good meetings in that journey, good service and great satisfaction, and I returned home in peace.

Now I must say with sorrow of heart, the time drew on apace when my virtuous wife and I must part, and be no longer meet-helps to one another, which we truly were, and never had either evil word or evil thought against *each other*, I am fully satisfied; but lived in *peace and* true love one with another, and we

glad when we could either one or both
truth and friends; therefore I find it o
mind, in this place, to insert the following
tion concerning her, viz.

A

SHORT ACCOUNT

OF THE

LIFE, CONVINCEMENT, QUALIFICATIONS, AND DYING SAYINGS

OF THAT FAITHFUL HANDMAID OF THE LORD.

ANNE RICHARDSON,

Who departed this Life the 18*th of the Twelfth Month,* 1711, *aged about Thirty-three Years.*

"She was decended of an honest and consider-
"able family of the Robinson's at Hutton in the
"Hole, in Yorkshire, and was convinced in her
"young years, and received the truth in the
"love of it, and it became valuable and precious
"to her above all things in this world; and
"through the blessed work and operation of
"the grace and Holy Spirit of truth, she was
"weaned *from the* world's pleasures, vanities
"*and recreations*, and from taking any delight
"*in them; and through the virtuous and mos*

"precious blood of Christ, she came to witnes
"her heart sprinkled from an evil conscienc
"and in a good degree made able to serve th
"living God, and bore a faithful testimon
"against the needless and superfluous dresse
"and fashions of the world, as also against th
"corrupt language thereof; and came to be
"great lover of virtue and purity, and had grea
"satisfaction in being in good friends' company
"and at friends' meetings, and in much retire
"ment and waiting upon the Lord, who i
"great mercy and condescension to the desir
"of his handmaid, gave her a large share, no
"only of the enjoyment of his living power an
"internal presence, but also a knowledge an
"clear sight into those things that appertaine
"to life and salvation: and truth thus prevaile
"over her, and brought every thought into th
"obedience of Christ, and subjected her wi
"to the will of God, which is a great work
"yet requisite to the new birth, withou
"which there is no regeneration; and with
"out regeneration and being born again
"there is no entering into the kingdom
"heaven.

"After this great change was wrought in he
"it was evident through the remaining part
"*her time*, that she was much preserved und
"*the power*, influence, and guidance of the pea
"*able, meek* and quiet spirit of Jesus Ch

"and grew daily more and more in the favour "and love of God, and was much beloved of "God's people, and indeed of her relations, "neighbours and acquaintance, who were not "of her persuasion; and walked so wisely and "prudently in all her ways, that she sought not "her own honour and interest, but the honour "of the Lord, and inward peace with him, "which she had a regard unto in all her under- "takings; so that even such who sought for an "occasion against truth and the professors of it, "had nothing to say against her, not even "from her childhood to the day of her death, "for she was generally beloved and spo- "ken well of by all who knew her, and many "were deeply and sorrowfully affected to part "with her, both Friends and others; the like "hath not often been seen in those parts, and "not without some cause; for she was a woman "of an upright life and exemplary conversation "before all, and gave no offence to Jew or "Gentile, nor to the church of Christ: charita- "ble to the poor, a true sympathizer with such "as were in affliction and distress, whether in "body or in mind, which was manifested in "her frequent visits to such, and by other "means clearly demonstrated. She was a "woman endued with great patience, and with "*a quiet and* serene mind, well qualified and "*fitted to her* husband's circumstances, who

"lot it was often to be abroad in the service of "the truth, an honourable and a faithful wife, "willing to give up her all for Christ and the "gospel's sake, counting nothing in this world "too near or dear to part with for the glory of "God, and advancement of the ever blessed "truth, peace and salvation of her own soul, "and the good of others.

"One thing is remarkable and worthy of "commemoration, which I insert as followeth, "that others in the like case may not barely and "outwardly immitate her, but feelingly come "up in her heavenly practice and experience, "under the influence, light and help of God's "holy and blessed Spirit, viz. When that "worthy servant of Jesus Christ, John Bow-"stead, returned from London Yearly-meeting "through several counties to York, and so home "with me, not long before my wife was taken "away; and having some discourse with her, "he asked about several things of moment, "especially about her husband being so much "from home; she gave him this answer, That "inasmuch as she gave up her husband cheer-"fully and freely to serve the Lord, and to be "serviceable to the church of Christ, she did "not only sympathize and feel with him in his "*most* adverse and low state, but partook with "*him in his* best enjoyments, when the power "*of truth* prevailed over all its enemies; &c.

"though I am then far from him, yet I partake "of the spoil, or the shedding abroad of the "good things of God among his people, as my "heart goes along with the work of the Lord, "and such as are engaged in it; and in all "my husband's afflictions I am afflicted with "him: and one of my main concerns is, that "neither I, nor any thing in this world, may "detain my husband from doing what the Lord "calls for at his hand; for if any thing hurt "him as to the truth, what good can I expect "of him? This John much admired, with the "deep and weighty reasons she gave about the "Christian discipline of the church, and con-"cerning the ministry, the like, he said, he "had not met with in all his travels before; "yet she was a woman of few words, and ex-"pressed much in a little compass: and when "she was taken away, oh! the loss and sorrow "he expressed to me in a letter concerning her "death.

"She was very clear in her understanding, "had a penetrating and discerning eye, a great "and inward sense of the state of a meeting, as "also of their several particular states. I can-"not at present describe to the full all the "hidden virtues of this handmaid of the Lord, "*but there* were many visible fruits of her vir-"*tuous mind*, that did appear to the children "*of men*, some of which were these, viz. Sb

"was an affectionate and tender mother to her "children, yet did correct them when occasion "required, without passion, or the least appear- "ance of disorder of mind, and still had them "in great subjection; at which I often admir- "ed and thought, surely she is come, by the "workings of the Holy Spirit, to a greater "dominion over her own spirit than many who "appeared to be her equals. She was a true "Christian, a loving and dutiful child to her "parents, a good neighbour, a faithful wife, a "loving and tender-hearted dame over her ser- "vants, and overcame them with love, and was "much beloved by them, and also feared; they "loved her, and were very unwilling to dis- "oblige or offend her.

"She appeared and behaved herself as became "a sanctified vessel, that was in a good degree "fitted and prepared for the Great master's use, "and often appeared as one that had been "secretly in some intercourse with Jesus Christ "in spirit, where his glory had more particularly "shone in and over her soul, not only because of "the gravity and solidity of her countenance, "but also the tenderness, humility, and sweet- "ness of her mind and spirit, weightiness of "her conversation, edification of her advice, "soundness of her judgment, and clearness of "her understanding; all which made her com- "pany very acceptable while among the living.

"Her heart was often filled with the love of "God, and early raised and enabled to speak a "word in season unto many states and condi-"tions, whether at home or abroad, in her own "family, amongst her neighbours, or in the "church of Christ, in testimony to matters re-"lating to the worship of God, or in matters "relating to discipline, especially in the meet-"ings of her own sex, where she had a great "service, and will be greatly wanted. She "had a great care upon her for the good educa-"tion of our youth in plainness of habit and "language, that they might be preserved out of "the corruptions of the world in all the parts "thereof; in all which services she will be "much missed: yet we being sensible that her "removal is her great gain, it helps to alleviate "our sorrow and loss, which is great, and will "not soon be forgotten by many who had the "benefit and comfort of her good services. "Also her watchful and solid sitting in our "meetings for worship was ramarkable, with "very little motion that was perceivable; yet "when the least stirrings of life in her mind "were perceived, in order to bring her forth in "testimony, the meeting was truly glad, and "the living amongst us rejoiced at it, for her "appearance was with the wise, and in the "*language* of the Holy Spirit; which was a "*clear* demonstration that the work was th

"Lord's, and by and through his S
"Power; all which gave her a great
"the minds of faithful friends and
"But she is gone in the prime and
"her age! which sets before and is a
"unto us, to shew us the uncertaint
"time here, and to prepare for one c
"come, that death may not overtak
"unawares before we are prepared for
"I come now to the time of her lon
"ness, in which she was preserved
"patience, steadiness and resignation
"to the will of God, even unto the e
"she enjoyed much heavenly comfort
"solation in the living presence of the
"her immortal soul, so that when she w
"Whether she thought she might re
"not; she mildly replied, She was a
"desire to live; because, said she, 'I
"it please the Lord to take me away
"will be well with me, for I find noth
"lies as a burden upon my spirit.' A
"time she said, 'As to that little test
"have been concerned in, this is my
"and satisfaction, that I can truly say
"kindle any strange fire, and therefo
"not warm myself at the sparks ther
"*what* I did in that matter was in
"*strainings* of the love of God; and
"*cup was full*, I a little emptied mys

"the Lord's people, yet very sensible of my "own weakness and poverty, and often thought "myself unworthy of the least of the Lord's "mercies.'

"Many savoury expressions she spoke that "were not written then, and therefore could "not be remembered; we having some hopes "of her recovery, it rather caused an omission "as to such a due observance of what she said "as otherwise it is like would have been; "although she was heard to say not long before "she fell weak, She thought her time would "not be long in this world. I never heard an "unbecoming or unsavoury word come from "her, let the provocation thereto be what it "would, no, not in the time of her health; and "in her weakness, she was much swallowed "up in the luminous and internal presence of "her Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and often "sang praises unto his worthy name, and "appeared as one wholly redeemed from this "world, whose heart was set upon, and mind "intent, and earnestly engaged in the pursuit "after heaven and heavenly things. Blessed "be the Lord, she had witnessed a part in the "first resurrection, and over such the second "death hath no power; and no doubt but she "lived *and believed* in Jesus Christ, even unto "*the end of her* time here, and passed away "*without any* appearance of struggling or sorrow

"I believe into a mansion of glory, where her "soul shall sing Hallelujah to the Lord God "and the Lamb for ever, with all those who "have overcome the world, the beast and false "prophet, and every thing the Lord's contro- "versy is with, and who have not loved their "lives unto death, but given up that life they "had in any wrong thing whatsoever."

When I had drawn up the foregoing account, and shewed it to some discreet friends, they said, It was not beyond her worth; yet when I looked it over again, with an intent to insert it here, I thought it looked too large; but upon more mature deliberation, I could not find what part to omit, but it would hurt the whole matter, therefore as I found it contained encouragement to all tender and well-minded people, to persevere in faithfulness unto the end; caution against pride, passion, and indulging or sparing any wrong thing in church or family; and something of advice to several conditions and growths in the church of Christ; it appeared most easy to me, not to lose any of those good fragments which had any thing of a heavenly savour in them, and if I have not missed it, there is something that has a living relish, for *without* that I should soon be weary of either *writing or speaking*.

Not long after the departure of my wife, I *came upon me to visit* the southern parts

England, and some parts of Wales, and I had good service and great satisfaction; and I was also at London, John Adam being my companion, who was an innocent clean spirited man.

Again, I found it required of me to visit the South West parts of England, in the year 1717, and I travelled through the west part of Yorkshire into Westmorland, Lancashire, Cheshire, and so on to Bristol, and as far as Cornwall, and had many good meetings; although I travelled alone, yet the Lord in whom I put my trust and depended upon, helped me, and bore up my head through and over all, renowned be his most honourable name now and for ever.

A remarkable DELIVERANCE which happened to me, being omitted in its proper place, I think fit to insert here, which was as follows:

In the year 1718, and the twelfth month, when John Dodgson was visiting friends in our parts, he lodged with me, and I went with him and his brother-in-law Peter Buck, to be their guide to Whitby, and staid their first-day's meeting, and second-day's preparative meeting; and on the third-day I went on with friends towards Scarborough, to have the better road home, there having fallen a great deal of snow while we were at Whitby, so that it was looked upon impracticable *for me* to return the same way home that *I came, it being* a moorish bad way; but in our

way back, within a mile or little more
Scarborough, we came to a brook, which by
son of the excessive rain and snow was h
than ever I had seen it, so that when we ca
ride through it, Henry Levins, our guide,
adventured in, being mounted upon a
strong large horse, and got over with some
culty, and I followed him; but when I
about the middle of the fording place, it to
mare off her feet, and something being i
way, it turned her upon her broadside, so
was dismounted and carried away by the ra
of the stream; but there being a foot-br
little below, about knee-deep under water, a
rail either to be a guide or to lay a hand o
the water being reduced to a narrow co
hurried me violently along, and drove m
my breast against the bridge with such
that it very near knocked the breath out o
but before I touched the bridge I happe
hold up my hand, and John Dodgson seei
danger I was in, jumped off his horse, and
a venture (seeing the water ripple) to h
bridge, and just caught hold of my f
and held my head above water, until
Levins, who was got over, came to hi
tance.

But by the strength of the water in my
tops, they being large, and by a nail in
ber under the bridge, catching hold of

coat, which held me fast, it was impossible for one man to free me, and not without some difficulty for them both to get me out, the nail holding so fast that it tore out a great piece of my coat, lining and all; but upon Henry's dismounting, his horse ran away to Scarborough, and mine swam back to the company, and when they had got me out, Henry ran on foot to get his horse, and found him at the stable door where he used to stand, and in the mean time John Dodgson kept me in motion by dragging me along, having very little or sometimes no hopes of my recovery. When the horse returned, they got me back to Scarborough, but I was not sensible how, and they had me to Dorothy Jaques's house, and when there, they could perceive my lips move, but could not hear what I said, until one laid an ear close to my mouth, and so understood that I said, If they gave me any thing that was strong, it would carry me off; which made them very cautious: however, they stript me and changed my shirt, and put me into a warm bed, and applied warm flannel to my feet for three hours together, which I knew nothing of, being then altogether senseless.

Isaac Skelton, who had been a companion of mine, in the service of the truth, through several counties, hearing of this accident, came immediately and got into bed to me, and kept me close *in his bosom*, which many thought was a great *means to* preserve my life. John Dodgson

though he intended for the monthly-meeting, expressed so great a concern for me, that he said, He would either see me in a way of recovery or die, before he left me; yet it pleased the Lord, of his infinite mercy, so wonderfully to raise me up again, as to enable me to be at the meeting next day, and also to bear some testimony, which was very acceptable and comfortable to friends, as it was also to see me there beyond their expectation; but yet I was much troubled with pain, the fleshy part of my shoulder being rent by the violent hauling me out of the water.

In gratitude, my soul can do no less than praise and magnify the Lord for this great deliverance, and all his other mercies, who alone is worthy. And I cannot but take notice of friends' kindness and goodwill to me, in doing whatsoever they could for me, but more especially my worthy friend John Dodgson, who hazarded his life to save mine.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF

MY VISIT TO FRIENDS

IN

IRELAND.

In the year 1722 it was renewed upon me to go into Ireland; the thoughts of it had been long upon my mind, but now the time seemed to be fully come, to pay that long thought of visit; and Joseph Bunting, of Cumberland, being my companion, we went from Kendal Yearly-meeting, which was a large and good meeting, and passed along to Whitehaven, and took shipping for Dublin, and staid their Half-year's Meeting, which was large, and in which the living power and presence of the Lord was felt amongst us; exalted over all be the *mighty* name of the Lord, for those and all *his mercies.*

I had there many good meetings, and a
met with some hard ones (as is the lot of s
as are called to this vocation) and the best w
I have found, when I met with such, is first
regard our call, then to mind the daily steps
take in that vocation into which we are call
and take special care to have along with us
company and counsel of him that hath so cal
us: this is the way fully and truly to discha
ourselves of that trust the Lord hath reposed
us, to the mutual comfort and edification of
churches of Christ, and also to the peace
consolation of our own souls.

It is now with me to write the following
marks of Ireland, which will not be remot
the state of friends in many other places, wh
there is a right, sound living ministry preser
and good discipline exercised, which mo
go together: there truth and friends are k
generally in good esteem, and also thrivi
but where these fail, especially the discipl
oh! how undue liberty, and the fashions of
world, with many corrupting things, creep
amongst the professors of truth, even unto
reproach thereof, and scandal of those who
so prevailed upon; and hearty sorrow of s
as know and feel the hurt of these things.
what a hindrance this is to the progress of
ever blessed truth in the earth; and *inde*
hath been in my mind that the main w

this our day is to search into the churches, and endeavour to bring them into such a condition, that it may once more be said, Follow Christ as you have us for examples; not only here and there one, but the believers in general; so it will be, when we as a people all speak the same thing, or that which is agreeable, as well in our practice (so often recommended) as in faith and doctrine; for I have ever understood examples to be more prevalent than precept. But if any amongst friends be grown so hardy, and so insensible, as to prefer some foolish fashions, which to me appear to be shameful and indecent, it is an evident demonstration they are departed from the principles and practices of our worthy elders in the truth; which I fear is the case of too many, both in that nation and in England.

How can our love to, and faith in Christ be true and sound, when our practice is so remote from the practice and example of Christ and his apostles, which they gave and endeavoured to inculcate? "Be not conformed to this world, but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that good and acceptable, and perfect will of God," Rom. xii. 2. "Whose adorning, let it not be that outward adorning *of plaiting* the hair, and of wearing of *gold, or of putting* on of apparel; but let it be *the hidden man* of the heart, in that which

not corruptible, even the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God of great price; for after this manner in the old time, the holy women also who trusted in God adorned themselves, being in subjection unto their own husbands, 1 Pet. iii. 3, 4, 5. Alas! Woe is me, for the hurt of the daughter of Sion, when I consider with regret from whence such are fallen, if ever restored out of the fall.

If we as a people should follow such examples as I have touched upon, certainly we shall become an hissing and a bye-word to all nations round about, who may have heard of us, and what great things the Lord of Hosts hath done for us since we became a people, as may and has been seen and heard in examples, words and writings from our faithful friends and brethren (the chief promulgators of truth and righteousness) in their unwearied labours, faith and sufferings for the cause and testimony of Jesus Christ; and what also was not less remarkable by their exemplary lives of plainness, humility, sincerity, and self-denial, with works of charity.

Now thou that readest this, beware that thou dost not let in any wrong mind and in that begin *to judge me* instead of judging thyself; for as *far as I know*, I have but done my duty: see *first, that thou* dost thine before thou begin *judge me.* Bear this caution from thy friend

God hath endued with his spirit, and
is Holy Spirit of truth is upon thee a
dgment; as thou abidest under these
ons, thou art fit to sit in judgment, and
ng things in thyself first, next in thy
d then in the church of Christ; and
ied in thy labours to preserve, as well
re, what thou art capable of doing in
h of Christ, from all wrong ways and
r if corruption and slackness come in,
il over the leader, as well as over those
d hath raised thee up to be a help
will the Lord deal with both thee
some other way; for I am satisfied
will turn his hand upon his people in
s, as he did upon Israel formerly, say-
prophet, He would "purge away
and take away all her tin;" not only
vils, but also that which in appear-
be like truth, but is not truth: this
ill be the way to "restore judges as
t, and counsellors as at the begin-
Oh! then shall the Gentiles see thy
ess, and all kings thy glory, saith the

gh there is a great occasion for an
nt in many, yet there is a bright and
minded remnant in England, Ireland,
other parts in the world, against
d not any thing to press upon my

need of this watch now, accord
the state of things) that w
righteous Judge, who will bri
judgment with every secret
before-mentioned, may be f
blood of all men, seeing that
them, and given notice whe
any danger, or an enemy
them.

Here is work for such as G
watchmen over his people, t
do not go on in bye-ways, v
and leave the way of trut
them; here is work for the
have the spirit of judgment
notwithstanding some, here
may be found in the faithful
trust the Lord hath repos
meet with some opposition f
unfaithful, and not willing t
girded by the truth, no not
outward conformity to the pla
cy, so much and frequently re
writings, by public testimon
meetings for discipline; for

branch of our meetings for discipline to inspect into, and take care to see that friends walk orderly as becomes our holy profession; and where wrong steps are made, and wrong ways are gone into, and liberty taken by any who do profess truth with us, that such may be dealt with, and the evil, as also the bad consequence thereof, laid before them, and they be laboured with, and not left; for although it may be but a small appearance or beginning of a leprosy, which is naturally apt to spread, unless proper applications, in due time too, be made in the wisdom and love of God; yet if any there be who prefer their own wills, and so far love that life they have in those things, that are not only evil in themselves, but also of evil consequence by their bad example, more than they love truth and the unity of the brethren, such had better for truth's sake, and for the reputation of the testimony thereof, be dealt with, for ease of the minds of the faithful, who suffer under the sense they frequently labour of a cloud of darkness and oppression, wrong ways and wrong things.

It may not be amiss to give a hint here, at what door many have gone out into divers evils; First, by being brought by custom to be in love with strong-drink, and keeping loose company; For such have been so far a means to corrupt and in time to draw away the mind from t

paratively speaking) crowd in again
passion, lust, envy, loose convers
drunkenness; nay some worse spirit
had possessed them before, have n
their minds with the former, that
measurably overcome and cast out;
fore certain, that the end of these wi
able, except the Lord grant them
repentance while here.

Now my tender and well belov
watch against, and strive to keep ou
that he enter not; for what way
enters and gets footing, he defiles Go
and before thou witnesses the Lord
him and cast him out again, thou
many a sore combat, and some warfa
more than thou art aware of) before
est all the ground thou hast lost, by
to the adversary of thy soul; ther
upon thy watch tower, watch unt
watch and pray continually, that ye
into temptation, said our great Lo
followers; for I have found by exp
it is harder to gain what we have
keep it while we had it; and to

talents, is not only the way to have them continued, but also to have them more abundantly added unto us; but such as do not improve what is given unto them, even that which they have been intrusted with shall be taken from them: Oh how desolate and miserable such will be in the day of account, when Christ, like a great shepherd, divides the sheep from the goats, and between the slothful and the faithful servants, between the wise and the foolish virgins, and between all those who adhered to, obeyed, and followed him according to the measure of light and knowledge received, and those who have rejected and disobeyed the strivings and convictions of God's holy light, and blessed spirit, placed in the hearts of the children of men to enlighten, instruct, reprove, comfort, and guide, according to the state of every individual mind, as it is conformable or disobedient to inward convictions. So is this holy gift a witness for, or against, to accuse, or excuse in thy conscience, according as thy good or evil doings are and do prevail in thy heart and soul. But this is somewhat a digression from the historical part of my travels; for as I have mentioned before my going into Ireland, I shall now say something more particularly thereof.

We journeyed from Dublin towards Cork, *and had* several meetings in our way, as a

Bellicane, Culladine, Wexford, Lambstown, Waterford, Clonmel, Cashel, Youghall, Cork, and staid their Province-Meeting for Munster, which was a good and large meeting. I was much out of order here, by reason of a fever and ague which held me several days, and I was much obliged to my friends John Dobbs, Joseph Hoare and his family, for the great care they took of me in this my weak state; I was not without some reasonings for a time, as to my being out of my native country, but the Lord who is mighty in power, helped me and raised me again, and gave me ability to discharge myself of that service I was called to, honoured for ever be the great name of the Lord for this and all his mercies.

Next we came to Charleville, Limerick, Ross, and from thence to John Ashton's, Birr, James Hutchinson's, Montrath, Monntmelick, Henry Ridgway's, and from Balinakil to Montrath again, and were at their Six-weeks Meeting, which was a heavenly and good meeting, there being a living remnant there: then we came to Kilconner, Carlow, Ballitore, John Stephenson's, Timahoe, Edenderry, and went to see my good friend Thomas Wilson, who was sore troubled with the gravel; I was much afflicted, *and truly* sympathized with him in my spirit, *and John Barcroft*, that true man and I, did *what we could* for our afflicted brother, and so

left him and his family in the love of God, and went to Lismoiny, the Moat, Waterstown, Ballimury, Athlone, and had another meeting at the Moat, Oldcastle, Ballihays, Coothil, Castleshean, Ballihagan, Charlemount, Dumclaudy, Colrain, James Moor's, the Grange, Antrim, Lisburn, Hilsborough, and was at their Province Meeting, which was held at Ballenderry, and was also at some meetings twice; Monallen, Trumery, Lurgan, Raffer-Island, Newry, and from thence to Drogheda, and so to Dublin, being the 29th of the fifth month 1722, and stayed there some meetings; and a living remnant there is in that city, but it is a rich place; the mighty God of heaven and earth keep his people low, and truly humble in that great city and every where else, is the earnest desire of my soul to the Lord; for I know there is a considerable remnant, whose labour and daily travail is to have the church kept clean from all manner of defilements both of flesh and spirit, so that she may be presented unto God the Father without spot or wrinkle, or any such thing, in the day when she must appear before the great Judge of all the earth, who will do right unto every one, according as their works are found to be good or evil.

Being clear of Dublin and the whole nation *took shipping* for Whitehaven, and had *short passage* but a very rough one, and

some meetings in my w
on the 21st of the sixth
my children recovered f
in which I left them wh
which distemper had so
that they were someti
it had been upon them
and it proved a trial fo
that very weak state; I
the Lord in the fervenc
whether I should leav
weak children or not, as
much in the same case (
family) it sprang in my
it had been spoke with
them and I will take
" Thou the Lord hast ne
them to thee, do what
with them." I looked t
neither at them nor any
became as if I had not
For thus it behoveth all
do, even the married as
and those that buy any
not possess it: this is a
strangers unto, it is wr
God, it is the work of G
loosen man thus from t
and at the same time
Christ, yet enjoy a c

freedom in our spirits in Christ, by our faith and obedience unto him, in and through all trials, provings and adversities: and dear friends, the greater the cross, the greater is the crown and reward which all those possess, who do all things they do with a single mind and an upright heart unto the Lord in all things and at all times.

Thus the children of the Bridegroom are or ought to be espoused or married to Christ, and truly devoted to him, that so they may stand, as much as may be, disentangled from all mutable things, and cleave to and follow him when and wheresoever he calls and leads, and be in subjection to him: thus we may know and experience Christ to become our holy Head; and that we may hold unto him, and that we may so walk and live, that he may take delight in his church (the body) to rule in and over it, as we have the state of the true church and Christ represented in the most excellent and sacred writings of the holy scriptures. Oh! that we may likewise know the marriage of the Lamb to be come, and that as of old, we may make ourselves ready, put off the sins and corruptions of the world that are through lust, and put on the Lord Jesus Christ and his pure righteousness: this is the fine linen, the righteousness of his saints; this is the wedding garment; *without* which preparations, and true Bride's *attire, I* cannot see how any can expect an ad

mittance into the Bridegroom's chamber: t
fore I entreat all such as do not find them
in preparation, and have not their peace as
to them, and want the seal or evidence
spirit of the Lord that they are his, not to
ber away their precious time until the mid
lest unexpectedly the cry be heard to
with terror in thy ears. "Arise trim thy
for behold the Bridegroom cometh," who
in times past exercised mercy and loving
ness towards thee, and hath sought divers
to win thee to love him; he has at times rep
thee for thy evil ways, and at other tim
hath set before thee the comforts and
ness thou shouldst possess, if thou wouldst
and follow him; but if thou turnest thy
upon all his reproofs, intreaties, and e
ments (as in the parable of the five fooli
gins) in the time when he, the Brideg
calls to an account, he will not know thee
wise than to shut thee out of his presenc
favour, notwithstanding whatever thou n
have heard, received, or done, if thou con
to work wickedness, and art not recl
therefrom.

These things sprang in my mind as a w
for all, to flee from every destructive
before the Lord overtakes them, when the
not escape his hand of justice; and als
the faithful may be encouraged in we

and to a faithful perseverance to the end. *Amen.*

Some things which have been omitted, I think proper to insert here, as worthy of observation. As I was travelling towards Lincoln, and passing through Brig, friends gave me notice that there were two great disputants, a non-conformist minister, and a doctor of physic, who were like to go all or most of the way with me, as the assizes were coming on, and would be at me with arguments about religion, which I soon found true; for we no sooner got into a suitable way but they began with me, which I endeavoured to prevent by telling them, I did not look upon myself to be qualified for disputes; and withal I observed, that some times disputants ended in a worse understanding one of another than when they began, except they minded well to keep good government; and now as we appeared free and friendly, how we might be when we had ended our dispute, was a question, therefore I had rather they would forbear. But they turned the deaf ear to all that I said, and nothing would do with them, but a dispute we must have. I then asked them, What they would say, they queried, Whether all men were placed in a station capable of salvation, yea or nay; I replied "If I should give my positive thoughts to your question, we shall have occasion to go back to treat of the nature, not only of the upright state ma

extensive than Adam's fall.
the foot of reason, as well
lain Scripture, Christ's

ing was as extensive as the fall of Adam, for, by the obedience of Christ, the gift of God came upon all unto justification.

"Now I think," said I, "your question is set in a clear light for an answer, or else answered; so take it at what end you will (laying aside all quibbling) I intend to join issue with you, and prove that all men are placed in a situation capable of salvation; or otherwise you will leave a great part of the world in paradise, or make the coming of Christ less extensive than the fall of Adam." I then queried, What they said to all this; they answered, They never heard the like before, and they would not meddle with me, I was too great a scholar for them. I said, There was little of scholarship in it: I offered, I thought, nothing but plain scripture and sound reason: and I told them, I had now as good as answered their question, and had given several reasons to back my answer, and as they appeared wise well-read men, and as far as I had gathered, had been principled against universal salvation and universal grace, for them now to drop the matter so slenderly, before me who appeared but like a child to them, was very surprizing: but they replied, They would not meddle with me.

I then commended them for their good temper, and the civility they shewed to me, for th

were civil to me beyond what I could
and they invited me to the burial of on
deceased friends, but I could not go, f
in haste to go to Lincoln, having some
there that hastened me. Now at part
them, my soul magnified the Lord,
sense of his goodness to me, in that he h
ed my way, and helped me through thi
ty, with many other trials and afflictio
met with.

I had at another time some reasonin
Papist who was my neighbour, about th
ty of their church, and transubstantiat
several other things. As to the first,
him, That the true church fled into
derness, where she was for times, t
half a time; in this state we do not
had any outward character as a visible
and that if they derived their descen
from some false church, and not thr
true one. And as to the other, they
much upon them, more than they cou
from scripture, or clearly demonstrate
or his apostles; for Christ never ga
them such a commission, as to convert
wine into real flesh and blood, and th
it Christ. You, said I, by these not
ceive yourselves and your adherents;
spoke unto such as you by parable
they were carnal, and did not und

meaning of his sayings in this case no more than the Jews understood what Christ meant, when he spoke of destroying this temple (meaning his body) which they understood was of that temple at Jerusalem, which they made a great wonder at, and said, "How can this be, that he can destroy this temple, and raise it up again in three days, when it was forty-eight years in building?" Thus they reasoned carnally, as Nicodemus (though a ruler of the Jews) did concerning regeneration or the new birth; and as the woman of Samaria did, from whence Christ should have that living water, which he spoke of that should be in a man as a well of living water, springing up into everlasting life; and as the Jews did, when Christ said, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you;" they said, "How can this be, that he can give us his flesh to eat and his blood to drink?" But this is a spiritual eating and drinking; even as Christ said, Out of the inward parts of him that believes, shall flow rivers of living waters; which he spake of the Spirit. In like manner it is said in the Revelation, "Behold I stand at the door and knock, if any man hear my voice, and open unto me, I will come in, and sup with *him, and* he with me." Here is an union *of spirits between* Christ and his faithful chi*ldren, and here is* an inward eating and dri

ing of the heavenly, spiritual, and mystical flesh and blood of Christ, which carnal men cannot eat of, neither can the carnal eye discern Christ's spiritual body, which he feeds his living and spiritual Church withal. When I had reasoned with the man to this effect, he went away seemingly not pleased, but would not from that time ever meddle with me any more.

I need not say much here about Christ's being come; having shewed, in a conference in New England, how he is come to answer his eating and drinking the passover and last supper with his disciples, saying, He would drink no more of the fruit of the vine, until he drank it new with them in his Father's kingdom. Now he that hath experienced what this eating and drinking, is, is come beyond the outward eating and drinking, into the kingdom which is within, which comes not with outward observations, eatings, drinkings nor carnal ordinances, but the kingdom of heaven consists in righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.

Now, read this, and learn to understand between the thing that points, and the thing which is pointed at, and between the thing signifying, and the thing signified, and mistake not the shadow for the substance any longer; for *it is possible* a man may do all the outward parts, *and yet be ignorant* of the cross of Christ, and *of the heavenly* substance: but if he is come

the end of these outside things, to the Holy of Holies, such will know what it is to minister before the Lord in his temple, and to serve and wait at the holy altar, and live, and have that pure spiritual life preserved: for we read not of any tithes that appertain to this spiritual priesthood, or gospel ministry; and what their outward maintenance was to be, is shewed by Christ, beyond contradiction, who sent them forth: where they were received (mark that well) they might eat such things as were set before them, but were not to take any thing from them by force, for that is out of the doctrine and practice of Christ and his apostles.

Why do people call the scripture their rule of faith and manners, when at the same time they believe and act contrary thereto? For when I had, some years before a debate with the priest of our parish, we meeting at Sponton, I being there upon some occasion, and several people met together, the priest demanded my reasons, why did not I pay him his tithe; I used some persuasive arguments to put him off, not being willing at that time to enter into any debate with him; but the more I shewed my unwillingness to it, the more urgent he was upon me: So when I could not see how to *avoid entering* into some close debate with him, *I desired he* would not be angry, and he said *he would not.* I then shewed in several par-

ticulars, why I could not pay him any tithes, because I believed if he was a minister of Jesus Christ, he ought not to claim any; for, as there was a change of the priesthood, there also must be of necessity a change of the law, as we see in Heb. vii. 12, and to pretend to draw any command or example from Christ or his apostles, out of the New Testament, for that purpose appears to me weak and inconsistent.

We had some farther discourse upon the ground of his right and title to tithes, whether Jure divino, as they used to be formerly claimed; or Jure humano, that is, by human laws, as most of the modern priests seem to choose to fix their title; I bid him fix his right for tithes on which claim he pleased, and I would endeavour to answer him as well as I could; but he seemed not to fix upon either: Whereupon I told him, That there was no scripture settlement of tithes upon gospel ministers; and also offered to prove, that he was neither in the practice of the Levites, to whom tithes were directed to be paid, nor yet in the practice of those ministers whom Christ qualified, ordained and sent forth; first, not in the practice of the Levites; because the tithes due to them, *were for their* service and punctual performance of *their part of* the ceremonial law, Numb. xviii. 21, *which if any* now claimed, it seemed to me, that *he subjected himself* to the practice of burnt-

ferings and sacrifices, circumcision, Jewish habits, washings &c. (besides which, the law which appointed the tithe to the Levites, expressly forbids them to have any share or inheritance in the land, as appears from Numb. xviii. 20, 23, 24. and Deut. xviii, 1, 2.) which the modern claimers of tithe would be loth to be compelled to the practice of; not to insist on the law of the third year's tithe, of which the widow, the fatherless, and the stranger within their gates, were to receive a considerable part as their allotted portion, Deut. xiv. 28, 29. Secondly, not in the practice of those ministers Christ qualified and sent forth; for these went out by an especial command from him, without gold, silver, or brass in their purses, without two coats; and so intent were they to be in the execution of their great duty of preaching the gospel, that they were to salute no man by the way, but to go forward on the great errand they had received in commission: and when they returned to their Lord, he asked them, if they lacked any thing: and they said nothing; yet not because they had forced a maintenance from any, but that the effect of their ministry among their hearers had been so prevalent, that those who had been convinced by their doctrine, and *turned to the* effectual power of Christ in themselves, *had* from thence known their heart *so opened*, as to administer to all their im

diate necessities; and these, thus sent, had only eat such things as were set before them, as they were appointed; and where they had sown spirituals, had only reaped of the temporals of their converts for their immediate subsistence: but though thou sowest not to me of thy spirituals, nor do I believe thee to be one who hast any thing spiritual, which can be of any benefit to my spiritual part; and though thou esteemest me as an heathen man and a publican, and I am excommunicated and cut off from any church-fellowship with thee, (not for any evil, but as far as I can understand, for not coming to what thou callest the church) yet thou expectedst to reap of my temporals, because the law of the land has given thee that power; which disposition to reap where thou hast not sown, and to gather were thou hast not strown, is far from manifesting a Christian spirit.

The priest further urged some passages out of the New Testament, in vindication of the payment of tithes, alluding to that of the apostle, 1 Cor. ix. 7, about sowing of spiritual things unto us; that it was but a small thing if such received of our carnal things; and that of feeding a flock, and partaking of the milk of the flock; and of planting a vineyard, and eating the fruit thereof: all which I endeavoured to obviate, by shewing, that he did not sow his spirituals to us, so as that he might be intitled to our carnal things;

neither were we of that flock which he should partake of the milk of; neither were a vineyard which he had planted, that he might eat of the fruit thereof. Furthermore I said, as I am a stranger, and an excommunicated person, and not of thy children, the apostles, if they wanted or were in any straits for necessaries, did not apply to strangers for help, but to such of their children as they had been instrumental in the hand of God to plant the true faith, and sow the seed of the kingdom in: now these who were thus convinced, and by the work of God's power converted, these were such who knew spiritual things sown in them, who I believed were very free to distribute, where true need was, of their temporal things, especially to such who had been instrumental in the Lord's hand to their coming to the saving knowledge of Jesus Christ. But I shewed the priest, that all this carried no analogy to what was between him and me, for I being excommunicated, was but to him as an heathen man and a publican, and as we never came to hear him, we could not owe him any acknowledgement, nor could he expect any thing as a free-will offering on that account.

This priest Wykes (for that was his name) was a strong-spirited man, of considerable parts *and learning*; and a neighbouring justice of the *peace told* me, he was fearful would be very *severe with* me; yet to his commendation be

spoken, he was ever after this conference very loving, and never gave me any trouble for those he called his dues.

I may add one observation or two not mentioned in our debate, which were, that if the maintenance of the priests was to be wholly withdrawn, or left to the freedom and generosity of the people, many of them would want and come to poverty, and be forced to labour with their hands, which would distract, or at least impede their studies. I answered, That with such ministers as they were, this might be the case: but if all would come truly and rightly to wait on the great teacher, the anointing in themselves, it would greatly tend to the advantage of Christendom; for the Almighty, who by his good Spirit is alone able to raise up and qualify gospel ministers, as he knows the wants of his people, and their faith and trust in him, would no doubt raise up from among them faithful ministers; such, who being humble, meek and low in heart like him of whom they had learned, would be content to live in moderation on a little, and to labour in their respective callings, like the apostle Paul, that great minister of the Gentiles, working with their hands that their ministry *might not* be chargeable, such as fishermen, *collectors* of customs, &c. whose ministry being *not their* own, but received immediately from *the great* shepherd of the sheep, would not re-

quire much time and study to pen down, but coming from the Spirit of Truth immediately moving upon the ministers hearts, would be more effectual to reach the witness of truth in the hearts of their hearers, than all the laboured discourses of the most subtle priest, though the produce of much pains and study. Neither have I found in all my travels, from any observation I have made, that ever the faithful ministers of Christ became any great burthen or charge to the churches; for I have seen the divine Providence attend the Lord's faithful servants, who thereby have been enabled to order their affairs with discretion, so as to want little.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF MY

SECOND VISIT TO FRIENDS

IN

AMERICA.

I HAVING had drawings in my mind, for some considerable time, once more to visit Friends in several parts of America, and inasmuch as I believed it was my duty, and what the Lord required of me to give up to, I was resigned, after some reasonings about my age, and declension as to ability of outward strength, concerning which I met with some inward conflicts and combatings which brought me very low for a time; but the Lord helped me through these difficulties, and caused his truth *to spring* comfortably in my heart, and his *heavenly* presence I witnessed at times to refresh *my soul* in these exercises unknown to many;

and the time being come for my preparing for the journey, on the 15th of the third month, 1731, I set forward from Hutton in the Hole to Scarborough, where I took shipping with George Widget, for London, and came thither the first day of the Yearly-meeting, with which I was very well satisfied, and on the 25th day of the fourth month went on board of a vessel bound for Philadelphia, in America, John Wilcox master, who was very civil and kind to me.

On the 27th of the said month we set sail, and had a good passage in the main, excepting that we had one very great storm, in which we were in danger of being lost; our bowsprit was broke, and the masts were in danger of coming down, yet we were preserved; and in about eleven weeks, being the 12th of the seventh month, I landed near Philadelphia, to the great satisfaction of friends as well as myself, renowned be the great name of the Lord for ever.

I have many times considered, that although it was my place to leave my very near and dear friends, children and relations, who in a tender frame of spirit were much concerned for me, and I for them, yet I met with many tender-hearted friends in my travels, who were very near with me in the blessed truth; which fails not those who trust in the Lord, and are faithful, according *to the ability* and understanding which the Lo *hath given* to the children of men, and are

voted to answer the leadings and guidance of his Holy Spirit, and willing to bear the cross, burthen or yoke, which he sees good to lay upon his servants and handmaids: and I entreat all such who are called unto the Lord's great work, to give up cheerfully and not grudgingly, and not to look back at what is behind, so as to hasten or hinder themselves in that work they are called to, lest they fall short of that penny or crown, which the faithful receive in the end of all their labour.

The yearly meeting at Philadelphia was nigh when we landed, which was large, and a good meeting, many friends from several parts being at it. Here I met with Henry Frankland, and we were truly glad to see each other, and went in company together southward towards Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, and returned to Pennsylvania; and in a short time after we parted: he came for England, and I traveled for New England through the Jerseys, Long Island, Rhode Island, and Nantucket having Richard Walne, of Pennsylvania, for my companion, a good man; we passed through all, or most part of the aforesaid provinces and Islands, and had very large meetings, and great attention there was in many to hear the testimony of *truth*, and an open door both of utterance, and *in many* places of entrance, for what was

delivered; yet not without opposition in some places.

I had some discourse with a baptist, a justice of peace, in one of the Jerseys, a man whom I truly loved, and he told me, that some of his children went to our meetings, and he did not hinder them: he appeared a tender-spirited man, and was of good repute in these parts where he lived, and very serviceable in his post: what he had most in debate, was touching Water-Baptism; I endeavoured to show him the use and end of all the shadowy things, all which were ended in Christ the substance, or antitype; and that such outward materials or elements appertained not unto his kingdom, or inward and spiritual administration; nor could they take away the root or cause of sin, which is only effected by the Holy Ghost and fire, or the Holy Ghost that worketh as doth fire, to the cleansing and purifying the hearts of the children of men, as is the nature of material fire to cleanse what it is properly applied unto.

I met with the same justice afterwards at Burlington in West Jersey, he was glad to see me, and so was I to see him, for he was very loving and friendly. I likewise met with a man *who* was a school-master upon Long *Island, that* appeared somewhat offended at *something I* had said in a meeting where he

been, and he followed me to a friend's
, and appeared so full of Scriptures in vin-
tion (as he thought) of Water Baptism, that
t with his reading many passages in the Scrip-
es, and paraphrasing upon them, he would not
ar me for some time; but when he was quiet,
said to him, Thou hast not treated me like a
ir disputant, to run on so long and not to give
ne time to make my objections; if thou hadst
pitched upon any particular Scripture, and giv-
en me liberty to have answered, it would have
been civil and reasonable. He owned, he had
not done fairly by me; but I desired to know
what church he pretended to belong to? He
answered, To the Episcopal Church. I then
requested he would answer me one question
before we entered into any farther debate, and
he promised he would if he understood it. I
told him, I heard he was a scholar, and no
doubt but understood how to asnwer it, if he
did but consider the matter; the query was
this, Whether the sprinkling a little water in
a child's face would bear the name Baptism, yea
or nay? He said, It would not. I answered,
Thou hast made a great pother and noise about
little or nothing; for by thy own confession thy
church has no Baptism at all, for I know not of
any other way they use but Sprinkling. He
would not enter into any farther discourse about
it, but made use of the words of Gamaliel,

our of the work the apostles were concerned , saying, If this work be of God it could not be verthrown, but if it was of man it would come o nought. I told him, I was of his mind; and he Lord hath supported me in this and the ike work, now between forty and fifty years, and if I continued faithful, I had no doubt at all in my mind, but he would support and stand by me to the end. And when we parted, he said, The Lord of heaven and earth bless you, for I believe you are an honest man.

By this we may see, that truth sometimes comes over men, and the witness which God hath placed in men is reached, and truth prevails many times beyond our expectations, or what is by us foreseen: therefore it is good to keep to the guidance or leading of the Spirit of truth, for it is a blessed remembrancer, instructor, and true comforter to all such as truly depend upon him, who sent the Spirit of Truth into the hearts of the children of men, to guide them into all the necessary truths which we are to know and practice, and consequently out of all untruth.

When we had gone through this island, and visited friends there and in Rhode island, and had some meetings in our way, we went to Nantucket, where we met with many friends; also on *Rhode Island*, and in many places in these

parts of the country, we found great openness; in Boston, beyond expectation, and there was some convincement in that town. We travelled up to Dover, and visited friends thereabout (which are the most remote parts where friends inhabit in that quarter of New England) where I met with a Presbyterian priest: what his design chiefly was in coming to the friend's house I know not, but thought it was to see, or rather speak with me, for he soon began to ask me some questions; first, Whether I was not brought up a scholar, and had been in some of the colleges where I had my education? And also, Whether I had not put on the canonical gown, and preached according to the manner of the church of England? I replied I had not received my education in any college, neither ever put on the canonical gown, nor preached after the manner of the church of England. He told me I had been so represented to him: and said, he supposed I had been at some schools: I told him, I had been at several to learn when I was young; and said, I did not know that I had given occasion at any time by what I had said, whereby any man might judge me to be a scholar. He understood I came from Old England, and began to ask several questions, as whether our friends increased or decreased: I answered, I could not positively tell; I thought there was no

great alteration in my time as to number, for their decrease in one part of the nation I thought might be made up by their increase in another part. He also asked me how the Episcopal ministers dealt with us about their tithes; My answer was thus: As to that part called the Prædial Tithes, they commonly either gather them themselves or family, or let them to tenants, who take care to fetch them away before us, knowing that we cannot be free to leave them on the ground, as hay and corn &c. And as to small Tithes, there is an * Act of Parliament called An Act for the more easy recovery of small tithes, for any sum not exceeding forty shillings, and ten shillings cost; which is by Justices warrants. This is mostly thought to be intended to prevent their procedure by Exchequer process, through which great havoc and spoil has been made of friends goods, and

* The 7th and 8th of William the Third, Chap. 6. is the Act for Recovery of small Tithes or Offerings, &c. not amounting to above the yearly value of Forty Shillings, which is common for all people, the cost not exceeding ten shillings before two or more justices of the peace, not to go back above two years.

The 7th and 8th of William the Third, Chap. 34, which is our Affirmation Act, is the Act for the recovery of Tithes and Church-Rates, for any sum not exceeding Ten Pounds from Quakers only, before two justices of the peace, without any limitation of time. And by the *statute of the* 1st of George the First, chap. 6. sect. 2 *limited to ten* shillings cost.—See the Statutes at large.

sometimes their bodies cast into prison, where some have lain a long time. He asked how our friends did in Scotland, if they increased there? I told him, I heard that they did not increase, but some of the Presbyterians in Scotland were kind to our friends and would come to our meetings, especially if strangers were at them. And I also told him, That persecution in our part of the world was become hateful amongst most sober people. He said It was very well; and likewise mentioned, That we were refined, and not the people we had been. I asked him, Wherein he thought we were refined? He answered, in our principles. I desired him to name one: and he said, George Fox denied the resurrection of the dead. I told him, George Fox did own a resurrection according to Scripture, as we do; but because he and our friends thought it not safe to recede from plain Scripture, nor to comply with the way many people have of expressing it, which we think to be too gross and carnal, viz. that the same body shall rise, therefore they have asserted we deny the resurrection: the Apostle saith, that which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body that shall be, for it is sown in corruption, raised in incorruption, sown a *natural*, raised a spiritual body; with much *more* that might be added: and how much *such a* change maketh a difference, between the

present and the future in the resurrection, between the natural and spiritual, corruption and incorruption, I know not of any finite creature that is able truly to determine; and therefore I think it is not consistent with charity, nor true wisdom, to differ about such things which exceed our comprehension. He allowed it to be better to let them alone.

We parted very friendly, and friends were glad of the opportunity, he having the character of being a great scholar and a wise man; but from all that passed, they believed he gained no advantage; however he behaved well; and before we parted, I told him, I thought the greatest reason why some think us refined was this, That formerly people were so prejudiced, that whatever was printed or said against us, our principles, practice, and doctrines, was generally received and believed, thought never so much disguised or covered with such dresses as might render us more odious, and were by many taken for the standard of our belief and practice; but of late the light hath more appeared, and many are grown better disposed towards us, and like wise men, not willing to be imposed upon any longer, have searched for themselevs into the state of the controversy between us and our opposers: and our writings, upon perusal, *appearing* so clear and different from what the *books of* those who opposed us charged up

us, caused many who read them with a good design, and were willing to be set right, to see we were reformed, and not the people that we had been. The priest said, He thought there might be much owing to that: I told him, it was undeniable, that there must be a great difference between our principles, doctrines, and conversations, truly stated and set forth in their proper light, and when they were misrepresented, sometimes with all the art and implacable malice that men were capable of: and this has been the way of our adversaries have treated us, almost in every thing we have believed, said, or writ, although it was very agreeable to the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament.

We returned back to Salem, Lynn and Boston and visited friends in our way, and at Rhode Island, Long Island and New York; and we had many good meetings and some large in the Jerseys, where I had some discourse with a justice of the peace about Water Baptism, but he did not hold it long before he gave up; and I had another at Allen's town with a Presbyterian, which held for some hours, about Water Baptism, and concerning Election and reprobation, and he also soon gave up as to the first; but when he began about Election and Reprobation, I said, I thought it was the most pernicious doctrine that ever was broached in the world, it did so

e the very nature of God, and his design
ating man, which, with all his other
, he pronounced good and blessed; and
nan, as the crown and glory of all his
which he had created, should be design-
the most misrable end, was unaccounta-
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ne, as also the confusion they were in
it, as that of their Wesminster confession
h, wherein they say, That the decree is
tain and definite, that one cannot be
to the number of the elect, or diminished
he number of the reprobate; and yet you
, That God has ordained the means to
his ends; I then said, this supposition of
ee for the means, as well as the end,
intended to make the priests and their
e necessary; but yet if they cannot alter
ecree, what benefit or advantage can there
men by their services or performance? I
none will think that a service to mankind,
engthen or confirm that decree, if it were
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; because no such decree was made, or is
ing; the opposite appearing by plain
ure, (which he owned when I urged it)
, that the fall of Adam did affect all; and
the *parity of* reason, the Coming of Christ
ach as far; because, as in Adam all die,
hrist shall all be made alive; he taste

death for every man, was a propitiation for the sins of all; and where then wilt thou find a people that is not included! But if thou canst find in, and prove by plain scripture, that there is such a people not included in these general assertions, that Christ came to save, shew me who they are. These and much more I urged that doctrine, and he with many others appeared much satisfied, and we parted friendly. He came next day several miles to a meeting which I had appointed; the man was counted a wise and sober man, and was under some convincement, and behaved well.

From thence we went to Pennsylvania, and had many good meetings in that part, and being clear and willing to return, I took leave of friends in a loving and tender frame of spirit, and embarked on board a ship, whereof Samuel Flower was master, the first of the third month 1733, at Philadelphia, and arrived at Bristol the 18th of the fourth month following, and was glad we got safe to England, having been seven weeks in our passage: I got home on the 6th of the sixth month, and was truly thankful to the Lord, who had preserved me in these long travels and labours of love, through many difficulties; but the Lord's power is sufficient *to bear up* and carry through all, renowned be *his worthy* name over all, now and for ever *Amen.*

Printed by C. Greene, at the Schools of Industry, Lindfield.

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